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OUR TWENTY-ONE PRESIDENTS

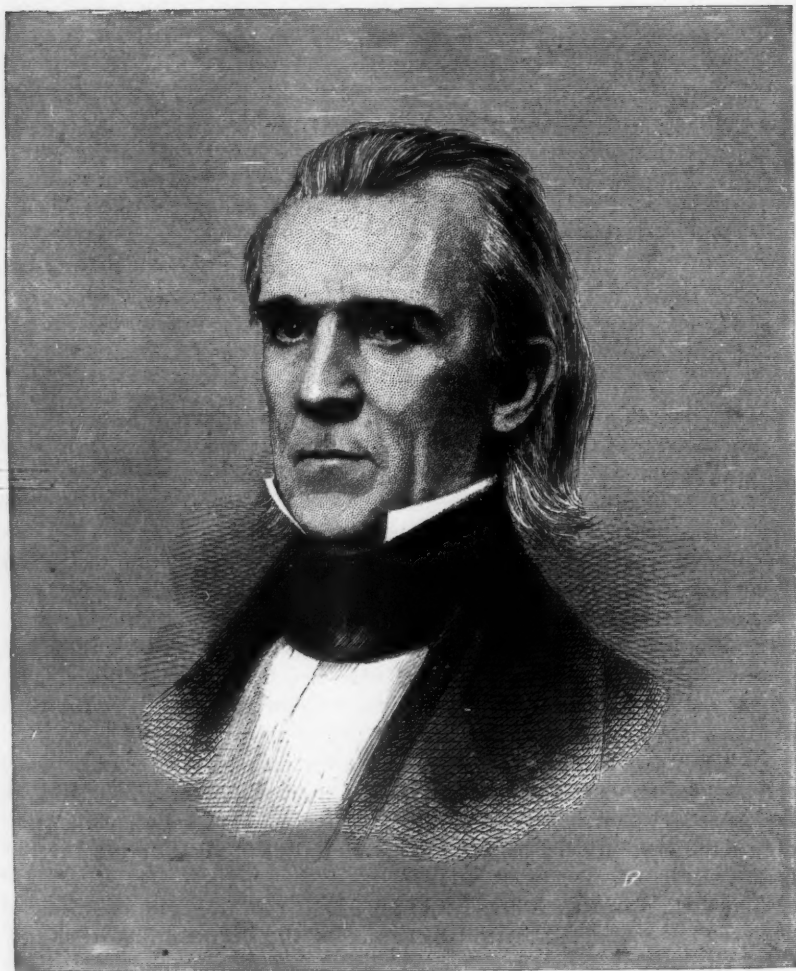
II.

THE LAST ELEVEN.

IN the paper on the first ten presidents which was printed in the February number of this Magazine it was shown that the average length of presidential service has considerably decreased as the years of the Republic have grown in number. A not less interesting fact is that the age at which men are called to the presidency has also decreased to a surprising extent, the decrease beginning with the second division of the list. Taking only the years of their ages, and omitting the months, we find that the average age of the first ten presidents, at the time of entering upon the office, was fifty-eight and eight-tenths years; while that of the last eleven has been only fifty-three and nine-elevenths years. Indeed only two of the eleven had reached the average age of the first ten at the time of their inauguration. These two were Taylor and Buchanan.

When we remember that five of the first ten served for eight years each, while only one of the last eleven did so, it will be seen that the difference is still more marked between the average age of presidents in office during the first fifty-six years, and that of those in office during the last forty years.

But if we divide the whole list of presidents into four groups—three of five each and one of six—it will be seen that the decrease has been confined entirely to the last two groups—the last eleven presidents. The average age of the first five—from Washington to Monroe—was precisely the same as that of the second five,—from John Quincy Adams to Tyler,—namely, fifty-eight and eight-tenths years. With the third group of five, however—from Polk to Buchanan—the decline was sharp, the average being only fifty-six years. With the remaining six—from Lincoln to Arthur—it sinks to fifty-two years.



James Polk

1845-1849.

[From an Engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

The oldest president ever put into office was Harrison, who was sixty-eight years of age at the time of his inauguration. The youngest was General Grant, who became president at forty-seven.

One or two further facts of a curious character may be mentioned before we turn to the consideration of the group of presidents whose portraits accompany the present article. The century that gave birth to the union of thirteen States, gave birth also to thirteen of the presidents, namely the first twelve and Mr. Buchanan. Fillmore was the first president whose birth occurred in the nineteenth century, and he was born in the first year of the century. Two presidents have died in office from natural causes; two have died by criminal violence. Two of those who have succeeded from the vice-presidency have broken with the party that elected them. One president—James Buchanan—was a bachelor; and one—John Tyler—was married during his term of office.

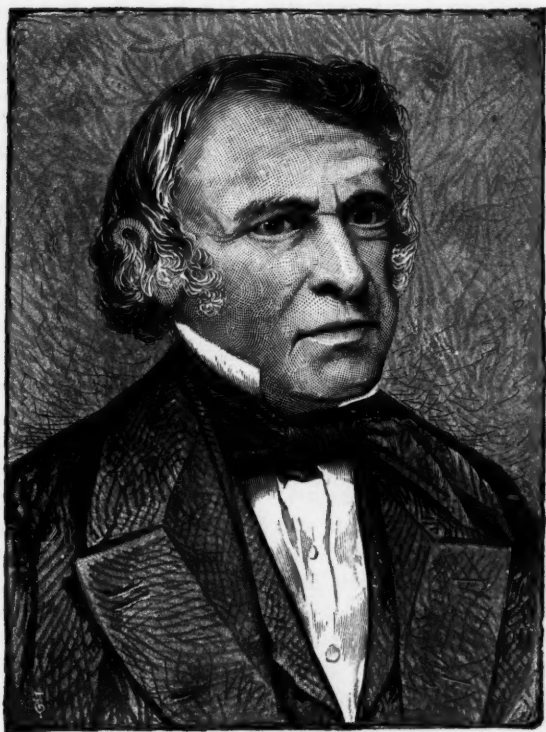
The election of Polk was in the nature of a plebiscitum. Personally he was far less distinguished than his opponent, Mr. Clay. His party had been in the minority at the last preceding election, and, upon purely party grounds, his nomination was scarcely the strongest that could have been made. That is to say, he was not the foremost leader of the Democrats. On the contrary, he was a comparatively obscure man in politics, although he had served for a considerable time in Congress and had been speaker of the House of Representatives. He was scarcely anybody's first choice for the nomination, but he was voted for in the convention because no one of the more prominent leaders could secure the necessary two-thirds vote. He was chosen by way of compromise, and his nomination gave great offense to many Democrats. There were sharp divisions in that party, too, on questions of policy, and these seemed still further to diminish Polk's chances of election. On the other hand, the Whigs had nominated Mr. Clay, their undisputed leader and a statesman of the highest reputation throughout the country. His political standing and personal popularity were so great that for a time his election was regarded as certain. In August, 1844, so shrewd a political seer as Governor R. P. Letcher wrote to Buchanan, earnestly warning him, in the interest of his own political future, to avoid activity in behalf of Polk. "Polk has no more chance to be elected," he wrote, "than if he were now *dead and buried and damned*, as he will be in due time."

But the election turned upon other than mere party questions, or questions of personal popularity. The people were called upon to decide by their votes whether or not Texas should be annexed to the Union. The election of Clay would have been a decision in the negative; the election

of Polk was a decision in the affirmative. The desire of the South to increase southern territory, and the more general wish of the people of other parts of the country to enlarge the national domain, were strongly reinforced by the fear that Texas, if left unannexed, might fall into English or other unfriendly possession; and the popular interest in this question overbore all other considerations. The election became, as I have said, a plebiscitum, to decide whether or not an imperial domain should be added to the territory of the Republic, and, upon that issue chiefly, Polk was chosen President by a considerable electoral majority. The will of the people was so distinctly expressed in favor of annexation, that Congress passed the measure without waiting for the new President's inauguration. During his term the war with Mexico, which had been foreseen as a necessary consequence, ensued, and Polk conducted that and the other affairs of the country with vigor and success in administration.

We now encounter another of those anomalies of which our political history is full. The Mexican war had been a Democratic measure, and the Whigs had bitterly denounced it as such. It had added an imperial possession of untold value to the country's domain, and in its course had given additional luster to American arms. In the natural order of events the glory and the gain should have inured to the benefit of the Democratic party which had brought about the war in opposition to the Whigs. But the Whigs quickly seized upon the results and turned them to their own advantage. They selected the chief heroes of the struggle for their presidential candidates in the next two elections, and in the first of them they won by virtue of the popularity of the war which they had so bitterly denounced as a wicked measure of their opponents.

In Taylor's case, at least, if not in Scott's, their choice was determined almost solely by the fact of his great prominence in that war and his consequent popularity. He was not in any sense a Whig leader. It was even doubtful, at first, whether he was a Whig at all, and it was necessary to ask him in order to find out. He cared so little for politics that he had not voted for forty years, and hence had never voted for any Whig candidate, as that party was then less than forty years old. In declaring his allegiance to the party that proposed him for the chief magistracy of the country he was careful to qualify his profession of faith by saying that he was "a Whig, but not an ultra Whig." Certainly he had not been ultra in his support of his party, and there was a good deal of dissatisfaction among the Whig leaders when he was nominated. They had among their number some of the foremost statesmen in the country, including both Clay and Webster, while Taylor was not a statesman at all. Webster



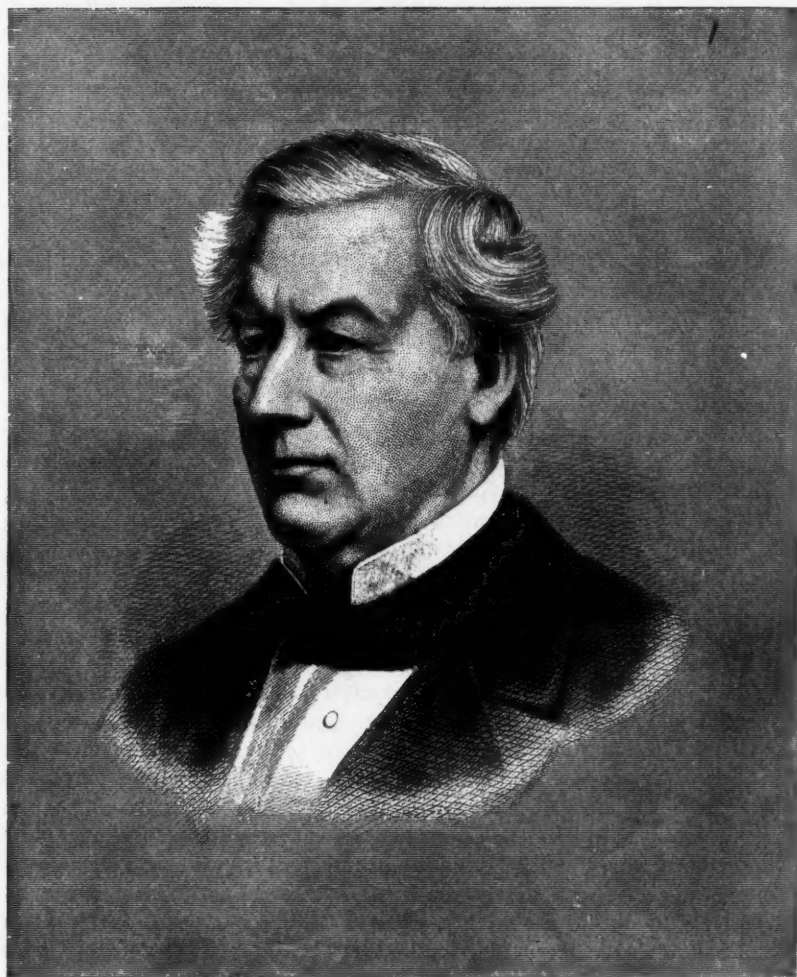
Zachary Taylor.

1849.

called him an "ignorant frontier colonel," which was not altogether a correct characterization, for he was not a colonel, but a major-general, whose rank had been fairly won by good work in his profession. But he was certainly ignorant. He knew nothing of civil affairs, and had received a very meager education in his youth. He was a frontiersman and a soldier, and nothing else. He had shrewdness and ability, but his mind had been trained only in military affairs.

Taylor had, however, precisely the qualities which had won popular favor for Jackson and Harrison. He was a man of the people. His life

had been adventurous and dramatic. He had won the admiring nickname of "Old Rough and Ready," as Jackson had that of "Old Hickory." His military achievements had been remarkable, and of a kind to arouse popular admiration. As the hero of Palo Alto and Buena Vista, he brought to the service of the Whigs the glory of a war which they had opposed, and helped them to win by means of that very enthusiasm for conquest which had overthrown them four years before. His nomination, like that of Harrison, was founded exclusively upon considerations of availability, and his election was due to the fervor of popular admiration for the man and his exploits of arms rather than to popular convictions with respect to questions of national policy. Such questions, indeed, scarcely entered into the campaign at all, and if they had done so, Taylor knew very little concerning them. He expressed serious doubt of his own fitness to deal with civil affairs, and the statesmen of his party shared his doubts very sincerely. But his name was a watchword among the people. He represented personal prowess, and—more important still—striking success in arms; and these, as two previous elections had shown, were the chief subjects of popular admiration. Those very deficiencies of education and of experience in civil affairs which excited doubt in the minds of the judicious, commended the candidate to the favor of the people. They liked him the better because he was a plain man, unfamiliar with political life and untrained in the schools. In calling him "Old Rough and Ready," they admiringly emphasized the roughness quite as much as the readiness. His war-horse was more talked about than his political principles. A mention of "Old Whitey" in a speech called forth more applause than any exposition of Whig doctrines could. It was a time of wild enthusiasm for the glorification of a popular hero. Taylor had battled with the Indians in hand-to-hand conflicts. He had conquered the Rio Grande valley. He had overthrown Mexican armies outnumbering his own three to one. The American name was exalted in him, and the common people, especially, were represented in his person and character. For these things they meant to make him president. They crowned themselves with "Buena Vista" hats and honored their hero with their votes, knowing and caring little about the questions on which the two great political parties were at variance. Their patriotism found more natural expression in the elevation of a man who had done so much to exalt the country's name than it could have found in efforts to promote one or another policy in the conduct of affairs; and it cannot be doubted that there is a certain salt of sincerity in such expressions of patriotism which is by no means to be despised as a factor of safety in a Republic. The love of country which takes this con-



Millard Fillmore

1849-1853.

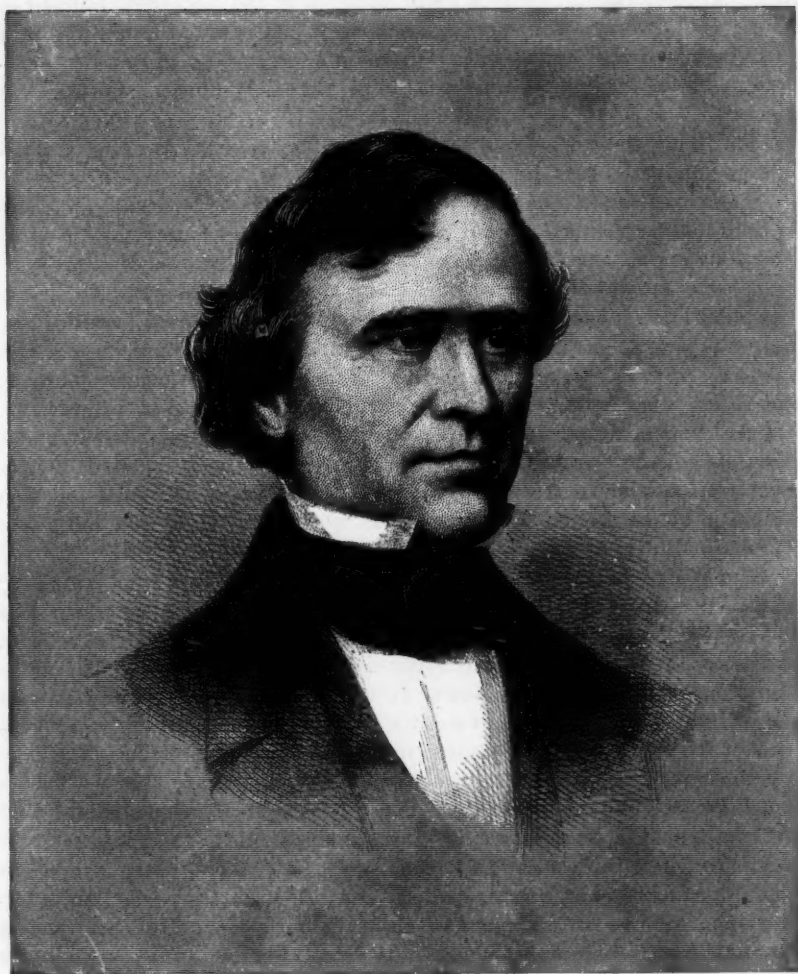
[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

crete, personal form, is not very thoughtful or very judicious; but it is sound and desperately in earnest, and it is a spirit which may be depended upon to serve the nation faithfully in times of stress. It makes of the Republic a goddess to be worshiped, and of the people willing sacrifices, ready, if need be, to suffer a glad martyrdom in defense of the flag. It does not discriminate nicely with respect to measures or the personal qualifications of men; but it exalts patriotism as the first of virtues, and stimulates devotion to the Republic by rewarding it unstintedly.

Mr. Fillmore, who, as vice-president, succeeded to the presidency on the death of Taylor, was also a man of the people, but in a different sense. Born of poor parents, he received a very meager education, and early began to support himself by manual labor. But his advancement came to him by virtue of personal effort for improvement. He supplied the deficiencies of his early training by later study and by association with men of education. He acquired a thorough knowledge of the law, and won distinction at the bar. In politics his success was achieved by earnest work in the direction of statesmanship, and it was as a statesman that he received the nomination for vice-president.

His political course presented some contradictions, which appear to have resulted from his sincerity in following his convictions, even when these suffered change and involved inconsistency. He did not share the Whig views respecting the old National Bank, but he once put forth a suggestion of his own for a national banking system not unlike that which is now in existence. In Congress he was early numbered among anti-slavery men; he supported John Quincy Adams in the celebrated controversy respecting the right of petition; he advocated the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the suppression of the slave trade among the states; and he opposed the annexation of Texas except under conditions similar to those that were afterward embodied in the Wilmot Proviso. Yet as president he approved the Compromise measures of 1850, and lost whatever chance he had for the nomination of his party in the next election by signing and seeking to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law. After the questions growing out of slavery had become the chief subjects of dispute in national politics, he accepted a nomination for the presidency at the hands of those of his party associates who refused to follow the main body into the new Republican organization.

In the election of 1852 both parties had difficulty in choosing their candidates, and both in the end passed their foremost statesmen by to nominate men of less prominence in politics. The Democratic convention was divided between Buchanan, Marcy, Cass, Douglas, Dickinson and



Franklin Pierce

1853-1857.

[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

other leaders, but no one of them could win the necessary number of votes. It was only after thirty-five ballotings had resulted in nothing that the Virginia delegates suggested Franklin Pierce as a compromise candidate, and he was not nominated until the forty-ninth balloting was reached.

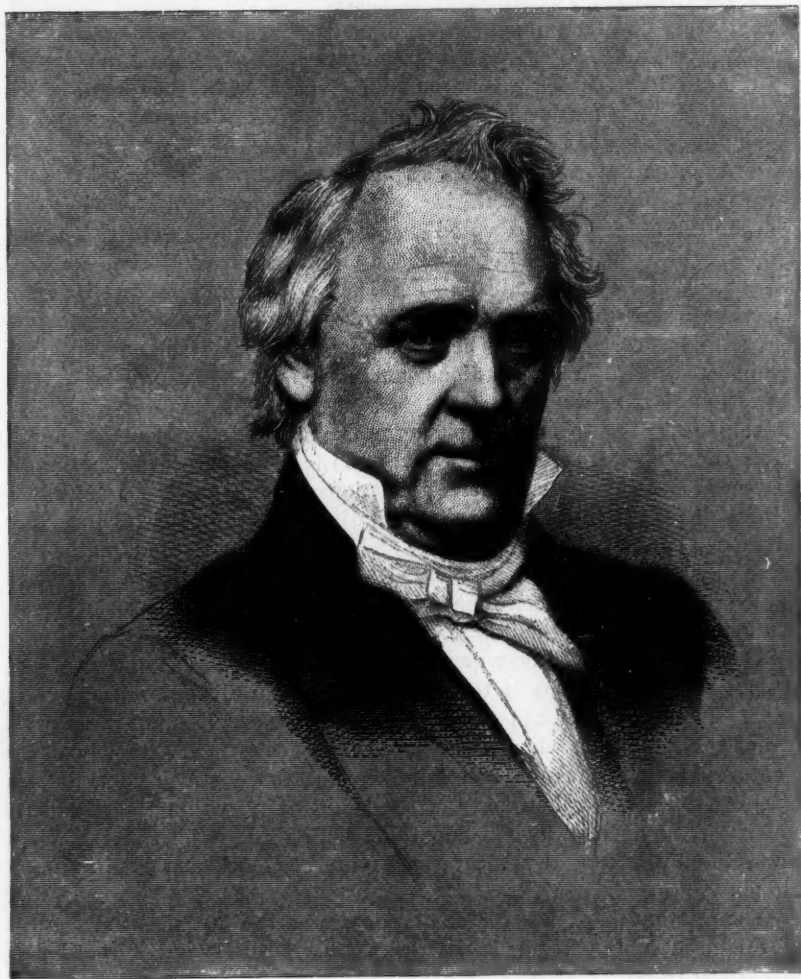
The Whig convention had still greater difficulty, and after fifty-two ballotings nominated General Scott.

Pierce was almost unknown to the country. He had served creditably in both houses of Congress, but had made no national reputation. He had also fought well as a brigadier-general of volunteers in the Mexican war, but neither his rank nor his services there had been of a kind to make him a popular hero. The great majority of the people had never heard of him in any capacity. So little was he known, indeed, that his name was at first variously printed at the head of the columns of his own party journals, appearing sometimes as "Frank Pierce," sometimes as "Franklin O. Pierce," and sometimes correctly. At a loss for something to say about him, one editor resorted to a sort of fortune-telling, and predicted Pierce's election to be the fourteenth president because there were just fourteen letters in his name, and because the letters "F. P." were the initials of "fourteenth president" as well as of Franklin Pierce.

The Whigs, on the other hand, by their nomination of the remaining hero of the Mexican war appealed again to the popular spirit which had served them so well in 1848. Scott had the advantage, too, of a brilliant earlier reputation won at Lundy's Lane.

So far, the advantage seemed to lie with the Whigs; but the fervor of the war spirit was spent, or, to put the matter more accurately, other subjects of strenuous interest occupied the attention of the people. The slavery question, which had so seriously disturbed the country during Taylor's and Fillmore's administrations, was felt to be the most menacing thing that the future held in store for us, and throughout the land there was an eager desire to set it forever at rest if that might be. A new party had arisen whose purpose was agitation, and whose cardinal doctrine was that of active opposition to the extension of slavery; and although this new party's strength was still comparatively insignificant, its existence aroused the people to a sense of danger and increased their eagerness to put the whole subject out of politics by the emphatic declaration of their will that the Compromise measures of 1850 should be deemed a final settlement of that question.

In adopting their platforms, the two parties pronounced in favor of that course with equal emphasis. But the Democratic declaration of intention



James Buchanan

1857-1861.

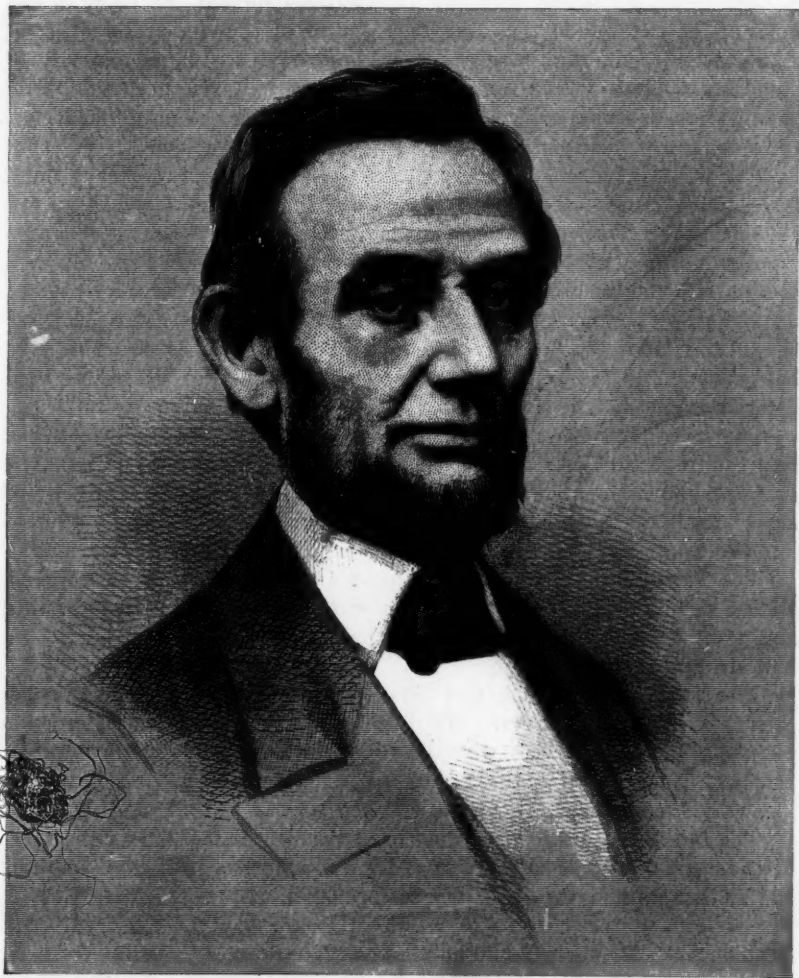
[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

to "resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made," expressed the general if not the universal opinion of the party; and the candidate chosen was in the fullest accord with the doctrine set forth. The Whig resolutions to the same effect were equally strong, but were by no means equally representative of party sentiment. They were adopted by the convention, but there was a stormy minority in that body which voted against the declaration. Moreover, seventy of the delegates from northern states, who voted against the measure, were the active supporters of Scott for the nomination, in opposition to Webster, Fillmore, and other Whig leaders, and so his nomination was understood to be, in a sense, the triumph of that part of the Whig party—and it was a considerable part—which refused to be bound by the act of the majority and declined to regard the resolutions embodied in the platform as a true expression of Whig doctrine.

The effect of all this was to place the Democratic party and candidate before the people as the representatives of the popular wish for peace on this question, and to give to Pierce's election somewhat the character of a popular decision against the further agitation of a subject which gravely threatened the future of the country. The Democrats were united in this purpose, while the Whigs were divided and were supporting a candidate whose nomination had been sought by that part of the party which refused to give a pledge against agitation.

The election showed how general the desire was to remove the subject of slavery from politics, and to avoid disturbing the compromise already made. Pierce received 254 electoral votes, and Scott but 42. Moreover, two of the four states which alone voted for Scott were southern—namely Kentucky and Tennessee—and it is obvious that for their votes he was indebted to the general strength of the Whig party within their borders, and not to any sympathy existing there with those Whigs in the north who refused to accept the declaration of the convention as binding upon the party.

The election that made Pierce president was the last national contest in which the Whig party had an active share. It had never succeeded in breaking the power of its opponents. Twice, indeed, its candidates had been elected to the presidency; but in both cases the success was due, as we have seen, to special circumstances and to the personal popularity and military repute of the candidates. Moreover, both the presidents elected by the Whigs died in office, the one within a month, the other a little more than a year after his inauguration. In the first case, the succeeding



A. Lincoln

1861-1865.

[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

vice-president, by acting with the Democrats, deprived the party of the fruits of its victory; in the other, the course of the vice-president, after his accession to the chief-magistracy, was offensive to a large minority of the party. Thus, during the whole period of its existence, the Whig organization had held control of the executive office for only four years, and then in a way displeasing to many of the Whigs.

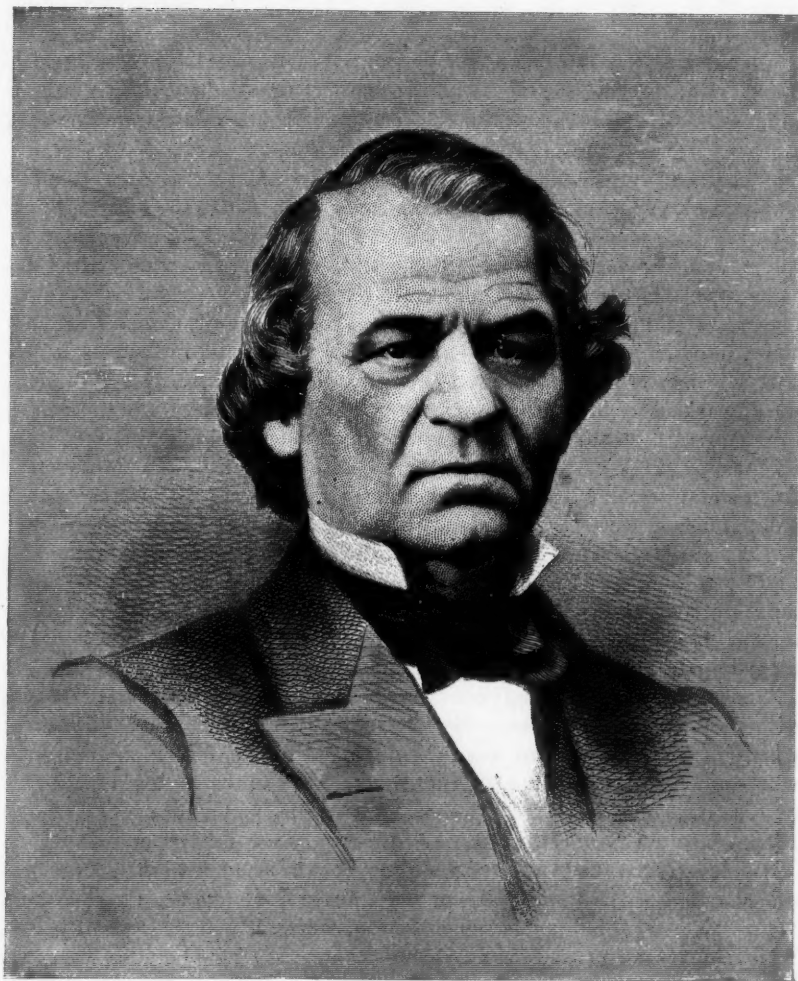
This want of success doubtless contributed to the party's decay; but a more active cause was at work to that end. The election of Pierce did not settle the slavery question. The agitation which it was intended to suppress not only continued, but increased in violence and stress. In connection with the territories, the relations of the country to slavery became the subject of paramount and almost exclusive interest. Men who had hoped and labored to remove the question from politics were forced to take sides upon it, to join actively in its agitation, and to determine their party relations by that single test.

The insignificant Free Soil party of 1852 had become the Republican party in 1856, and it was then the only real contestant of Democratic supremacy in national affairs. It had destroyed the Whig party, by drawing to itself the anti-slavery element and driving the pro-slavery Whigs into the camp of their ancient enemies.

The Republicans nominated Fremont, because of his supposed availability, in preference to any one of its statesmen of recognized political ability, of whom there were many in the party of no little distinction in national politics.

The Democrats, for the first time in many years, nominated one of their representative leaders, Mr. Buchanan. A third party, consisting mainly of old Whigs who were unwilling either to follow their former associates in supporting the Republican candidate, or to unite with the Democrats, nominated Mr. Fillmore.

The fact that questions relating to slavery were almost the only issues of the campaign, gave to party divisions a much more distinctly geographical character than they had ever before assumed. Both candidates for the presidency were citizens of Northern States, it is true; but with Mr. Buchanan the Democrats had nominated a Southerner for Vice-President, while both of the Republican candidates were from the North. Moreover, while the Democratic candidate relied upon the South for the greater part of his strength, the Republicans had neither support nor the hope of support in that quarter. As if to emphasize this dangerous point still more strongly, Mr. Buchanan's nomination was secured in opposition to the wish of Mr. Douglas's friends by the activity of a prominent South-



Andrew Johnson

1865-1869.

[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

erner in the convention. It was thus, in a sense, the South that nominated him.

In the election, Buchanan received the electoral votes of five Northern States and of every Southern State except Maryland, which voted for Fillmore. Fremont carried the rest of the Northern States, receiving 114 electoral votes, against 174 for Buchanan and 8 for Fillmore.

Buchanan had been one of the most prominent Democratic leaders for a long period. He was held in high respect by his associates, and had long been regarded as a probable candidate for the Presidency. In early life he had been a Federalist, but, in common with the great majority of the adherents of that party, he changed his political relations after the war of 1812, in which he served as a volunteer. From that time until his death—more than half a century later—he remained a Democrat, and was nearly always in public life. He served five terms in the House of Representatives; was sent as Minister to Russia by Jackson; was elected to the Senate in 1833, and continued a Senator until 1844, when he left the Senate to accept the office of Secretary of State under Polk; he was Minister to England under Pierce, and finally became president. Next to Harrison, he was the oldest of the presidents at the time of his election.

The political history of Mr. Buchanan's administration is that of the continued growth of the excitement over the slavery question. The Dred Scott decision and the Harper's Ferry raid greatly intensified the feeling upon both sides, and there was no longer a hope, even in the minds of the most hopeful, of avoiding a direct political conflict upon this single issue. The Democratic party itself could no longer maintain its unity. It was divided into two parts, representing radically different policies, each of which nominated its own candidate for the succession, while a part of what would otherwise have been its strength was drawn off by still another nomination—that of Mr. Bell—which was made in the hope that it might serve as a means of reuniting the opposition to the Republican party. That party, notwithstanding its rapid growth in numbers, had not yet secured the allegiance of a majority of the people. In the election there were 4,645,390 votes cast, of which Mr. Lincoln received only 1,857,610, while the votes against him numbered 2,787,780, divided among the other three candidates. His electoral majority, however, was the decisive one of 180 against 123. The division between the two sections was sharply drawn; the electoral votes of every free State were cast for Mr. Lincoln; those of every slave State against him.

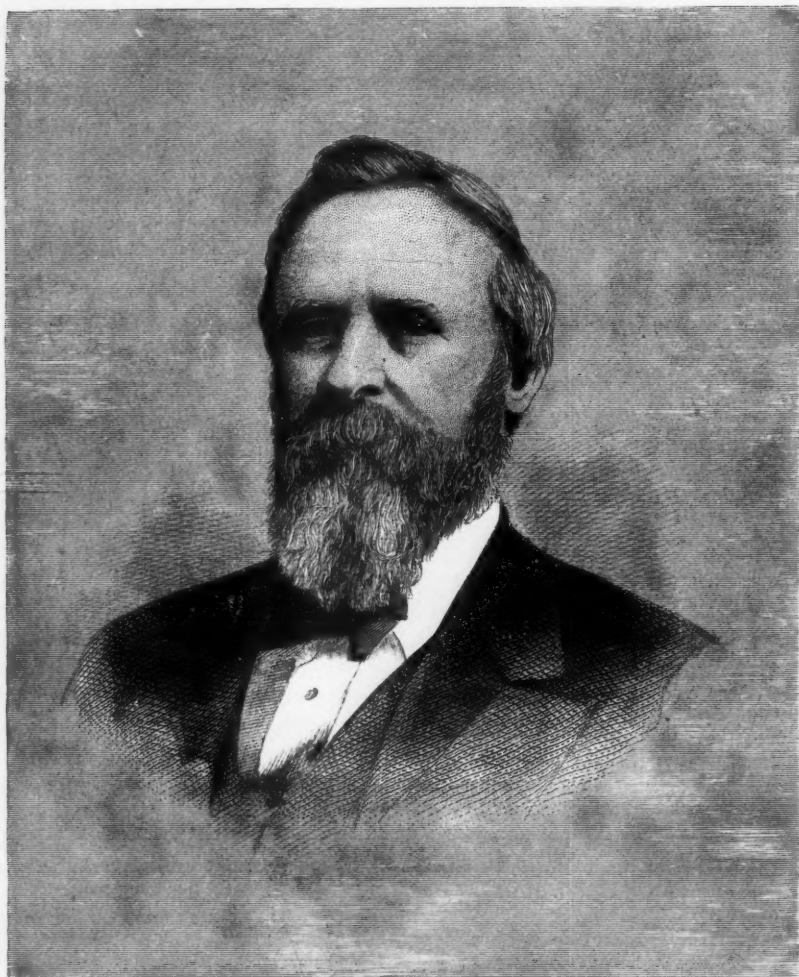
The campaign which resulted in this way has sometimes been likened to that in which Harrison was elected, but the resemblance is rather



U. S. Grant.

1869-1877.

[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]



R. B. Hayes

1877-1881.

[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

fancied than real. The humble plainness of Mr. Lincoln's early life on the frontier was somewhat talked about during the canvass, but the election turned upon a great question of national politics, in which every voter on both sides was deeply and even passionately interested. Mr. Lincoln's early experiences were accidents, merely, in his career. He was not nominated because of them, nor were they factors in his election. To discover a resemblance between the two campaigns is to trifle with fancies, losing sight of the deeply significant facts of history.

Mr. Lincoln had grown up in the West when the West was new, and, in common with all others so placed, he had been engaged in youth and early manhood in various occupations involving hard manual labor. His education was meager only as that of his neighbors was, and he repaired its deficiencies by every means in his power. Long before his nomination for the presidency he was prominent at the bar of a State where the lawyers were men of learning in their profession, and where something more than untrained ability was requisite to such success as he had achieved. He had made his mark in politics, too, and, especially in his contests with Douglas, had won recognition as a man of large capacity in statesmanship. It was as a statesman of known ability, and as one of the foremost representatives of his party's principles that he was nominated; certainly the homely surroundings of his boyhood and the rude labors of his early manhood had nothing whatever to do with the result. It was not the rail-splitter nor the flat-boatman that was nominated, but the statesman who had met Douglas in debate and had aptly formulated the doctrines of the Republicans in phrases which had become the party's watchwords. Neither was it as a compromise candidate, too obscure to have excited the enmity of factions, that he received the nomination. On the first ballot in convention his vote stood second only to that of Seward. On the second ballot the two leaders received almost an equal number of votes, and on the third Lincoln was nominated.

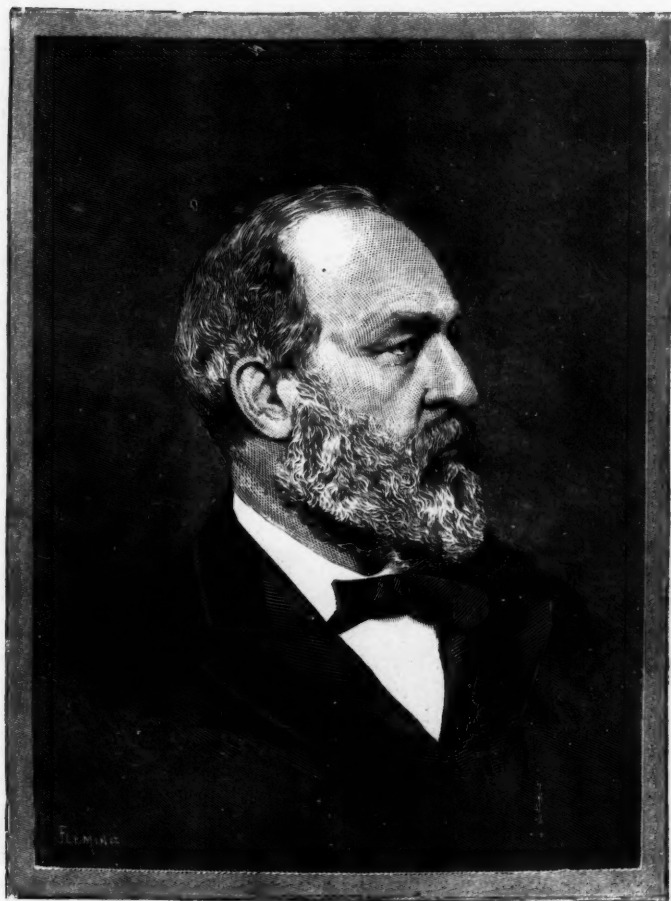
It is necessary to mention these facts, because in the popular understanding of the matter, and still more in the foreign conception of it, historic truth is perverted and the significance of historic facts is misinterpreted.

Mr. Lincoln's administration exactly covered the period of the civil war, and with its history we have nothing to do in this particular connection. The conflict was substantially at an end when President Lincoln fell by the hand of an assassin, creeping stealthily from behind, while sitting with his family and friends in his box at the theater, on the evening of the fourteenth of April, 1865.

With the accession of Johnson in 1865, we reach the end of what may be called the historical period of American politics. The civil war overturned the old order of things, and reconstituted the republic upon a new basis. All that has since occurred in public affairs belongs to the politics of the present, with which it is not yet time to deal historically. In writing of the presidents who have succeeded Mr. Lincoln, therefore, we must confine our attention strictly to a brief mention of matters of biographical interest unconnected with the political events of their several elections and the conduct of their administrations.

Several of the presidents began life with meager educational advantages, but President Johnson alone began with none at all. He was not taught even to read, but was earning his living as a tailor's apprentice when the desire to master that art first seized him. It was not until after his marriage that he took his first lessons in writing and the elements of arithmetic, his wife being his teacher. He seems always to have been interested in the affairs of state and to have relished debate and public oratory. It was from hearing another read the oratorical selections in the "American Speaker" that he first caught the desire to read, and when he was living in Greenville, Tennessee, in a house only ten feet square, which served the double purpose of home and shop, he was an active member of a local debating society. A little later he took part in an election, and was made alderman, and then mayor. He was a presidential elector in 1840, and canvassed a large part of the State, meeting upon the stump several of the leading Whig orators. From that time forward he became steadily more prominent in politics, serving in the legislature, in both houses of Congress, and as governor of Tennessee,—some four years—before the war. He opposed secession, and was active in the service of the Union throughout the war. Mr. Lincoln appointed him military governor of Tennessee, and in 1864 he was elected vice-president. He was a man of robust intellect, great tenacity of purpose, and unbounded courage. His industry and his quickness of perception enabled him, without much of systematic study, to make good his lack of education, especially in those directions in which his ambition created the need of information.

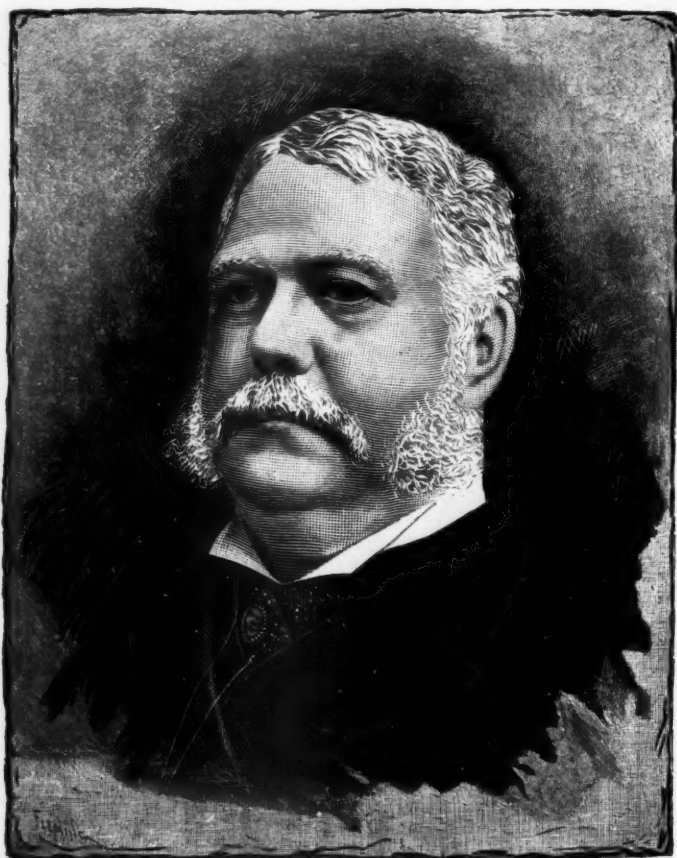
Of the four presidents who have held office since Johnson's term ended—viz., Grant, Hayes, Garfield and Arthur—General Grant is the only one whose election was the direct result of his military achievements. When the army of General Lee surrendered to him, his ultimate elevation to the highest office in the nation depended solely upon his willingness to accept it. He alone of the four was educated as a soldier, but all four were well educated in youth.



J. A. Garfield

1881.

[From the original photograph.]



C. A. Arthur

1881-1885.

[From a late photograph by C. M. Bell, Washington, D. C.]

Three of these are living, and for the other the country has scarcely yet put off its mourning. To write of their public life now, would be incongruous in a magazine of the character of this. Their portraits have a proper place in our gallery, but the events of their lives, however interesting to the world, have not yet become history.

George Cary Eggleston

[THE reader will be interested in learning that the eight uniform portraits which accompany Mr. Eggleston's article, after engravings by H. Wright Smith, were never before published. The steel plates, from which only a few prints had been made, were destroyed in the Boston fire. A series of nineteen Presidential Portraits—Washington to Hayes—had been completed for a magnificent volume containing Biographical Sketches and an Introductory Essay by John Fiske, A.M., LL.B., Assistant Librarian of Harvard University, author of "Myths and Myth-Makers," "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy," and other works, and was to have been shortly issued from the press of Elisha F. Thayer & Co., but for the calamity above mentioned. "No pains have been spared," wrote the author in his Introductory Essay, "to secure a perfect likeness of each President, or to have the work performed in the highest style of the art. The engravings have all been executed by H. Wright Smith, who is admitted to be without an equal in his profession; and a single hand gives unity as well as thoroughness to the work. The likenesses have in every case been taken from the best portraits—by Stuart, Healy, and other eminent artists—in possession of friends or of public bodies, and their perfect correctness attested by the ablest authorities. . . . To the visitor at Edinburgh there is nothing more interesting, even in that grandest and most picturesque of cities, than the long array of portraits of Scottish Kings which adorn the walls of one of the venerable rooms in Holyrood Palace. Nor in a journey through France is one likely to meet with any thing more impressive than the marble group of national heroes—the doughty Du Guesclin, the peerless Bayard, the generous Lannes, and a score of others—who stand as perpetual sentinels, watchful of their country's fortunes, in the court of the great palace at Versailles. It is a good thing to have the past thus made real to us and kept before us, and to become familiar with the faces of the men who have been associated, in one way or another, with the labors and struggles through which our modern civilization has been wrought. In a certain true sense the faces and characters of our Presidents are more intimately correlated with some of the phases of national life than in the case of hereditary sovereigns such as those whose portraits are to be seen in Holyrood; and this series illustrates in many ways the changes that have come over our social life since the time of the Revolution. Our own country has no Versailles or Holyrood, but there is no reason why a national portrait gallery in book form, may not be a valued companion at every fireside in the land."—EDITOR.]

THE BARONY OF NAZARETH*

In the heart of Northampton County, one of the original counties of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, there is a charming tract of rolling country, rich in springs and watercourses, and in grain-growing capacities, consisting of five thousand acres. This tract once formed "The Barony of Nazareth."

The story of all the formalities of the old "Court Baron," with its peculiar dispensation of domestic justice, the record of all the ceremonious services which the tenants owed by reason of their feudal tenure to the Lord or Lady of the Barony, all these golden threads of history's romance have no monument save in the frail recollections of memory, no means of reaching future ages except through the indistinctness of tradition.

Lady Letitia, the daughter of "William Penn, of Worminghurst, in the County of Sussex, Eng.," was the first ruler of the Barony. From the grantor she had the privilege of holding "Court Baron" and views of frank pledge for the conservation of the peace. It was held in trust for her sole use and behoof by the good friend of her father, Sir John Fagg. But her title to the Barony became more secure by the deed, dated the twenty-fifth day of September, A.D. 1731, when her half brothers, John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, released to her all their rights, title, and interest in the Barony. However, there was a consideration in this deed which called for the yearly payment of *One Red Rose* by the Lady Letitia to the grantors. I have before me, as I write, a copy of that deed, from which I quote the following: "RELEASED AND CONFIRMED unto the said Letitia Aubrey, her heirs and assigns for evermore—but TO BE HOLDEN of John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, their heirs and assigns, in free and common socage, as of the seignior of Windsor, on YIELDING AND PAYING therefor to the said John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, their heirs and assigns, '*One Red Rose*' on the twenty-fourth day of June yearly, if the same shall be demanded, in full for all SERVICES, CUSTOMS, AND RENTS."

Although there is no positive or reliable record of the manner of the payment of this *One Red Rose*, still tradition gives us a pleasing account of the picturesque formalities observed on the 24th day of June, when the

* The author gathered the facts for this article from the papers of the late Maurice C. Jones, of Bethlehem, Pa.

payment of this rent fell due; but the account is of such an unreliable nature, that only the poet's pen would be privileged to preserve it.

The old customs of the Barony were of not a long life, for in the summer of 1741 the tract was sold to the Moravians. The Moravian Church is well known by its early and noble work in the widely distant centers in Greenland, Labrador, Canada, West Indies, Australia; in fact, its ministers have shown almost the heroic perseverance and wonderful fortitude of the Catholic missionaries in carrying the word of God to distant lands. There is many a place in America which founds its prosperity of to-day on the industry and economy of the Moravians of the forgotten past. Many fields of rich soil have been rescued from the overgrowing forests by the Moravian forefathers, and through their toil many a wilderness has been made to blossom as the rose. The American Moravian Church is an integral part of the Moravian Unity, whose organic center is at Herrnhut, Saxony. It was this Church that purchased the Barony and colonized the Borough of Nazareth, situated about the center of the large tract of land. They lived here somewhat after the manner of the primitive Christians—in an Economy. Happy years and halcyon days rolled on, until 1751, when orders came from the head Church in Saxony to lay out a village within the limits of this princely domain, like unto the Moravian villages of the old country. This village was accordingly laid out by the Bishop so delegated, preparations were made for the erection of dwellings, and the name of Gnadestadt was given to this projected town. Thither the inhabitants of Nazareth were requested to go, but they could not be prevailed upon to exchange the poetry of an Economy for the prose life and restrictions of a municipium. The Economy which had been established in the Barony had no communistic movements. The aggrandizement of things temporal, either for the individual or for the quasi-corporation, was utterly foreign to its design and spirit; the support of a Gospel ministry and missions were its sole aims. Although the surrender of personal property into a common treasury was no unusual occurrence, still it was not a requirement for admission into the Economy. The artisans and husbandmen contributed their individual labor for the common good, and the necessities of life were supplied to them in return. The mutual obligation ended here. To aid the work of the Moravian Church was the object of the Economy, and when the spirit which animated its founders began to decline, it ceased being of help to the Church, and soon therefore was dissolved, in the year 1762.

Previous to this, however, and in accordance with the orders from the Mother Church in Saxony, a large frame caravansary was built in the Barony. It stood, like a beacon-light, on the very confines of barbarism.

Its presence was hailed with delight by the horsemen and packers journeying along the king's highway to the settlements that dotted both shores of the Delaware beyond. Such rest did this ancient caravansary give from the toils of the way, such refreshment to the weary traveler, that it grew in great favor, and its achievements were heralded far and near. A noble inn it was, and wore, as it was entitled to wear, a coat-of-arms, which consisted of a full-blown scarlet rose. And hence the inn was known as "*Die Rose*." This floral emblem was not bestowed on the lonely hospice because of its resemblance to the queen of flowers, amidst the scrub oaks of the surrounding wilderness; it was commemorative of the rent of *One Red Rose*, due and payable on the 24th day of every June for all services, customs, and rents, in accordance with the provisions of the deed to Lady Letitia.

It is duly recorded in the archives of the Moravian Church that on the night of the 18th of November, A.D. 1755, the Barony was shaken to its foundations, and, although the sky overhead was star-lit, still an awful rushing of the wind was experienced, and the distant sound as of booming cannons was heard; this pandemonium was at its height, when lo! the doors of The Rose swung on their hinges and stood open, and the sleepers at the inn were rocked in their beds like mariners in hammocks at sea. It will be remembered that it was during the first part of this very month of November sixty thousand persons perished violently in the city of Lisbon, the result of that frightful Lisbon earthquake. Was there a connection between the Lisbon earthquake and those frightful occurrences in the Barony of Nazareth, although unlike in degree, still nearly synchronous and similar in character? I leave the question to the physicist.

This was the first incident to disturb the peaceful harmony of the Barony, and it was an ominous foreboding of near calamities, for word was brought within a week therefrom of the Indian surprise and massacre on the Mahoning, and on the evening of the seventh day sixty or seventy men, women, and children, terrified beyond measure, came from the wilderness lying north of the Barony, clamorous for protection from the murdering Indians. Such was the beginning of a precipitate evacuation of the frontiers, and ere long the Barony was filled with refugees, who formed a promiscuous assemblage of men of diverse nationalities, creeds, and tongues. The Indian troubles of the frontiers changed the Barony into a place of refuge, and the dangerousness of the times gave it a martial air. Grain continued, however, to be raised, and the trees hung full of fruit. But this ripening was in lawless times, and positive means appear to have been taken to stop the depredations committed on these Hesperian gardens, for we

find the following caution, dated September, 1757: "This is to notify whom it may concern, that, in these uncertain times, the watch will set their dogs on, or, if need be, fire upon, all persons, whether white or Indian, who shall be found trespassing in the orchards at Nazareth." It does not appear by what authority this ordinance was put up.

There is a waif of Provincial history, which is deserving of attention, bearing upon the time of which I write. In September, 1757, while Joseph Keller was assisting his neighbor in plowing, three Indians surprised his farm-house, situated in the northern part of the Barony, and carried off his wife and two little boys. This outrage being communicated to Tadenpundt, the Delaware king, he immediately despatched three of his Indians and two whites to Keller's, to ascertain whether any of his subjects had been concerned in the outrage. The records I have do not show the result of this embassy; it demonstrates, however, the kindly feeling existing between the King of the Delawares and the Moravians. After 1757 to a comparative late date, the Barony enjoyed peace.

In 1783, *The Rose* was plucked from its ancestral stem, for it was sold by the Moravian Society to Dorst Alleman, but I find before it had faded entirely, it was honored by a week's visit of Governor John Penn, who came hither no doubt to relax his mind from the cares of state, by shooting grouse on the neighboring barrens. The description of the Governor, which we have in our history of Pennsylvania, tells us that he "was in person of the middle size, reserved in manners, and *very near-sighted*," from which I infer that the grouse suffered but little from his attacks.

From 1830, large and frequent sales of lots and tracts of land have been made by the Moravian Society from the larger tract once comprising the Barony of Nazareth. These sales and the rough and ever-active hand of time have almost obliterated the courses of the old Barony. The old *Red Rose*, once the pride of the Barony, has long since ceased to bloom—even its withered leaves have been scattered by the storms of commerce.

The Moravian Society still own a small portion of the old Barony, but most of the old landmarks have been laid low by the iron hand of ruthless corporations. In the fierce flood of the coal and iron trade which sweeps down the Lehigh Valley, through Northampton County, the romantic historical facts which cluster around this section of the country are almost swept away. It is a pleasure, therefore, to chronicle them, even briefly, ere they are forgotten.

David Brodhead

February, 1884.

RUFUS KING AND THE DUEL BETWEEN GEN. HAMILTON AND COL. BURR

Among the interesting and readable books which have recently been published is the autobiography of Charles Biddle, covering a period from the middle of the last to the first quarter of the present century. He was of an influential family in Philadelphia, that has furnished many men of note to the country, and was himself the immediate ancestor of those of the name who have during the last fifty years been prominent in public affairs. He was a man of decided character, straightforward and manly, warm in his friendships, but stern in action toward those who crossed his purposes. Among the public men of his time whom he held in high regard was Aaron Burr—a fact clearly evinced in this autobiography—while, on the other hand, he had few kind words to say of Burr's political opponent, Alexander Hamilton, except as to his great abilities. After giving some account of the duel which took place between these two, and which resulted in the death of Hamilton, Biddle writes: * "If General Hamilton had not opposed Colonel Burr I have very little doubt he would have been elected Governor of New York, and if he had it would have been a fortunate circumstance for the country, as well as for themselves and their families. In this unfortunate affair Mr. Rufus King was blamed, I think deservedly, for not endeavoring to prevent this fatal duel. He is the moderate, judicious friend General Hamilton alluded to in the paper enclosed in his will."

It must be remembered that this was not written at the period of the occurrence of that sad event, but some years afterward, when to a certain extent time had softened bitter feelings, and it therefore manifests that in the minds of some well-meaning men there had been and then was existing an impression such as that recorded here, in reference to the power of Rufus King to have prevented the duel—that he did not exert that influence with General Hamilton, and that he suffered in the minds of honorable men in consequence.

As this is, I believe, the first time in which this has been publicly charged in a work of acknowledged character, it seems but right and fitting that so erroneous a statement should be met at once and corrected. That Rufus King was the warm and faithful friend of Gen. Hamilton, and that he prized too highly the services and worth of that distinguished man to

* Autobiography of Charles Biddle, p. 309. Philadelphia, 1883.

leave unused any means in his power, short of dishonor, to avert the calamity which he anticipated as the possible result of a hostile meeting, was well known, as was also the fact that Gen. Hamilton had counseled with him. The result of that interview has only been recorded in the paper left by Gen. Hamilton. Happily among the papers of Rufus King is a statement in his handwriting and signed by him, which will be found below, giving his account of his agency in the matter, and showing how shocked he was that the opinion existed at that time, 1819—and of which he seems never before to have heard—that he might have prevented the duel. The letters are as follows:

“Jamaica L. I. April 2 1819

Dear Sir

To my surprise and regret I have been informed that Doctor Mason* in a late conversation at a dinner Table, stated in reference to the Duel between Gen^l Hamilton and Col. Burr, in which the former was mortally wounded, that it was in my power to have prevented the Duel and that evidence of this Fact could be produced; a statement which had the effect of creating the belief that I approved of, and promoted the Duel.

I request that you will take an early opportunity of calling on Doctor Mason, and in my behalf, assuring him that the reverse of the alleged Fact is the Truth; and that so far from approving and promoting the Duel, I disapproved of it and endeavoured to prevail on General Hamilton not to meet Col. Burr.

Ask Doctor Mason to furnish you with the evidence to which he referred, and upon which he thought himself justified in making the foregoing statement; say to him moreover on my part, that I willingly believe, after receiving this communication, that he will take greater pleasure in correcting, than he could have experienced in stating a charge, which is so wholly unfounded.

With affectionate regards

I am faithfully yours

Rufus King”

M^r Charles King

On the margin of the rough copy of this letter are the following remarks, evidently instructions by which his son, Mr. Charles King, was to be guided in his conversation with Dr. Mason:

“Remark M^r Bogert † gave me this information w^h he rec^d from a Gen-

* John Mitchell Mason, D.D.

† Cornelius J. Bogert, a friend and neighbor at Jamaica.

tleman present at this dinner, who was impressed by D^r M's statement that I encouraged the Duel. M^r Bogert more than once conferred with this person in order accurately to understand the tenor of D^r M's charge and the impression upon the person in question. Mr. Bogert has seen and approved of this letter as correct in its recital of wh. was communicated to him.

R. K."

On the reverse side of the letter above quoted and in the handwriting of Charles King is the following statement :

I received this letter on the 5th April, and in the course of that day called at D^r Mason's house, and was informed by M^{rs} Mason that the D^r was in the country arranging his library. Being engaged on the 6th I deferred repeating the call 'till this afternoon (the 7th), when I saw D^r Mason, and informing him that I called on the part of my father, who had heard a report which was very unpleasant to him, I presented him with this letter as the best mode of explaining the object of my visit. He read it attentively and returned it to me with the observation, "that there was no truth at all in the report to which it referred." He then went on to explain that at the dinner table of M^{rs} Richards, M^r H. W. Warner, alluding to the duel of Gen^l Hamilton & Col. Burr, mentioned M^r Pendleton as the *calm and judicious friend*, to whom Gen^l Hamilton referred, as having taken his advice, previous to the duel. D^r Mason remarked hereupon that he understood that friend, to be M^r King—but that this remark was unaccompanied with any other or any comment. That M^r Warner had within a day or two called upon him in much agitation, that they had talked over this subject, and M^r Warner had left him prepared to give M^r Bogert such an explanation of what really passed at the dinner already alluded to, as would do away the unjust inferences that appeared to have been drawn from it. I expressed the pleasure I felt at this statement and then entered into a detail of what really took place between my father and Gen^l Hamilton at their interview on the subject of this unfortunate duel, specifying particularly, that the *only point* upon which Gen^l Hamilton asked my father's opinion was whether he, Gen^l Hamilton, was bound to give a definite answer to Burr's inquiry as to whether he, Hamilton, had at any time or in any place expressed opinions unfavorable or derogatory to Col. Burr. To which he answered decidedly No—That if M^r Burr would specify any particular fact, then and then only it would be proper for Gen^l Hamilton to deny or affirm it ; That such should be the tenor of Gen^l Hamilton's reply to Burr : That preparatory to and during the discussion of this question, the main one arose of whether Gen. Hamilton should under any

circumstances accept a challenge from M^r Burr arose, and that my father *decidedly advised that he should not*. But that Gen^l Hamilton having stated that his mind was made up on this subject, as also to throw away his fire, if they should meet, my father then endeavored to prove to him, that if he, M^r H., would persist in fighting, he owed it to his family & the rights of self defence, to fire at his antagonist. D^r Mason replied, that these circumstances were new to him; but that the letter I had then shown to him, communicated what he did not know, but what he was rejoiced to find, that my father dissuaded Gen^l Hamilton from fighting—as his letter stated he did. I hereupon rose to take my leave, expressing the pleasure I felt, that a report which could not but be disagreeable to my father, & unjust to Dr. Mason, had been so satisfactorily explained; to which D^r Mason rejoined that he was also well pleased at it, and that no man in the country would rejoice more than himself to see my father occupying that station in the country which was justly due to him.

I immediately returned home (about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 o'clock P.M.) and committed the result of this interview to writing.

Wednesday Evg 7th April 1819.

Chas King "

The above letters would suffice to show that at the solemn moment when friendship could speak with such powerful voice Rufus King was not wanting in the advice he gave, and should put an end to any repetition of a calumny to which he should never have been exposed. But as I have in my possession some other letters bearing upon the duel, I have thought their publication might be of interest in this connection.

In Gen. Hamilton's letter to Sedgwick, July 10, 1804, speaking of the "*Dismemberment of our Empire*" (then talked of) as a sacrifice without countervailing good, he says at the close: "King is on his way to Boston, where you may chance to see him and learn from himself his sentiments." This will account for the fact of Mr. K.'s being absent from New York, when the duel took place.

"Wednesday 11th July

My dear Sir

This morn'g we were all alarmed at a report of Col. Hamilton's being killed in a duel with Col. Burr. Knowing that such a report would interest you, I seize the present opportunity to say 'A meeting took place between those gentlemen this morn'g, the cause said to be political, the consequence a wound (supposed to be mortal) on Col. Hamilton. He received the shot of his antagonist, it is said with the determination of not returning the first

fire. He was brought to M^r. Bayard's at Greenwich, where M^r. Low & I were at 12 o'clock. He was still alive, but I conceive there is nothing further than a possibility of his recovery. We have not heard of him since that time. A general sense of regret prevails. We have nothing else since your departure.

Rufus King Esq.

Hartford Connecticut.

With esteem yours &c &c

W^m. Wallace."

"New York July 1804

Thursday 8 o'clock A.M.

My dear Sir

Before you receive this our dear and excellent friend Hamilton will be no more. He and Col. Burr met yesterday morning at 7 o'clock on the Jersey shore. Gen^l. H. persisted in the resolution he had taken before you left us to receive and not return the first shot. Unhappily M^r. Burr's first shot was fatal. It passed between the two lower ribs of the right side and lodged near the spine, and in its passage, the surgeons say, must have passed through the lungs or the liver. He was brought over to M^r. Bayard's, where he continues. I have just left him and the Doctors say he cannot outlive this day.

I have not time now to communicate any of the reflections that crowd upon my mind on this most extensive public and private calamity. It has occasioned a strong public Sensation, which will be much increased when he is dead.

I am, my dear Sir with esteem

Rufus King Esq

Boston.

Your obedient Servant

Nath^l. Pendleton."

It will be remarked, that Mr. Pendleton in this letter makes the statement, which was denied by Col. Burr's friends, that "Gen. H. persisted in the resolution he had taken before you left us to receive and not return the first shot." In addition to these there is the rough draft of a letter written to Gen. Clarkson, relative to a conversation with him before the duel took place. It is in Rufus King's hand-writing and signed by him.

"Waltham near Boston

My dear Sir

August 24 1804

I lose no time in replying to your letter of the 20 which I rec^d last evening; considering the reserve that I have observed upon this subject of national affliction, I am truly surprised that any such Rumour as that you mention sh^d have got into circulation upon my authority. No person can be

justified by any observation that you ever made to me, or that I ever made to another, in reporting that you had given an opinion that a duel between our lamented friend & Col. Burr was unavoidable.

It was not until the challenge had been given and accepted, that I mentioned the affair to you, and that under injunction of secrecy, knowing our friend's determination to be passive. My mind was agitated with strong forebodings of wh. has happened, and tho' the correspondence was closed by an agreement of the parties to meet each other, I nevertheless mentioned the subject to you and asked if you could perceive any mode of interference. Yr. answer, expressive of much sorrow, was in the negative. I did, however, not infer from this answer that in yr. opinion our friend might not have declined a meeting with Col. Burr, but merely by the acceptance of his adversary's challenge, that the interference of third persons was precluded.

With Sentiments of Respect & Esteem

Gen. Clarkson.

Signed

R. King."

On the back of this copy of a letter is part of another, which was either sent or proposed to be sent to some intimate correspondent. It is in these words:

"You cannot, my dear Sir, hold in greater abhorrence than I do the Practice of Duelling. Our lamented friend was not unacquainted with my opinions on this subject, but with the most sagacious and discriminating mind that I ever knew, he had laid certain rules for the government of himself upon the subj. of duels, the fallacy of wh. w^d not fail to be seen by any man of ordinary understanding, and with these guides, it is my deliberate opinion, that he could not have avoided a meeting with Col. Burr, had he even declined the first challenge."

On the same page is one other remark in the hand writing of R. K., as follows:

"I regard it as a violation of our civil, our moral, and our religious duty: I go farther, and do not consider it as even 'proof of courage.'"

With these corroborative evidences of the views and feelings of Rufus King on the subject of dueling, and especially of his agency in this particular case, there can be no doubt that he has been unjustly charged with withholding his influence to prevent the occurrence of the duel.

ANDALUSIA, PENN., *Feb'y* 11, 1884.

Charles R. King,

THE GRISWOLD FAMILY OF CONNECTICUT *

WITH PEDIGREE

II

MATTHEW, the eldest child of John and Hannah (Lee) Griswold, was born Mar. 25, 1714; married, Nov. 10, 1743, Ursula, daughter of Gov. Roger Wolcott,† of Windsor, Conn.; and died April 28, 1799. She died Apr. 5, 1788. He is usually distinguished as Governor Matthew Griswold, from the last public office which he held. What preparation he had for public life other than his own native ability, and the prestige of family, we are not told. So early as 1739 his "loyalty, courage, and good conduct" were rewarded by Governor Talcott with the appointment of Captain to the South Train Band of Lyme; and in 1766 Governor Pitkin made him Major of the Third Regiment of Horse and Foot in the service of the Colony. But long before this latter date he had become devoted to civil affairs, more especially to such as involved applications of law to private interests; in respect to which he acquired an extensive reputation, and was consulted from distant places. He appears to have been counsel for John Winthrop of New London, son of the last Governor Winthrop, in a suit brought by him against the Colony for services of his ancestors and moneys due to them.‡ In 1751 he was chosen a Representative to the General Assembly; § in 1757, as "Matthew Griswold, Esq., of Lyme," he was appointed by the Colonial Government to "sue for, levy and recover" debts, "in the name, behalf and for the use of the Governor and Company;" in 1759 he was elected to the Council of the Governor. || He was again a member of the Council in 1765, when Fitch was Governor, whose councillors were summoned to administer to him an oath to support the requirements of the Stamp Act. An historian has described the scene in glowing words, and tells us that Matthew Griswold was one of those who followed the lead of Trumbull in refusing to "witness a ceremony which so degraded liberty, and degraded the Colony," and retired from the council-chamber. ¶ To February 11 of this year belongs a letter from Jared

† Memorial of Henry Wolcott . . . ut supra, p. 77.

‡ I derive this fact from a manuscript letter of Dr. Benjamin Trumbull of North Haven to the Governor, dated Oct. 28, 1793. Comp. Trumbull's Hist. of Connecticut . . . New Haven, 1818, ii. 54-55.

§ Hollister's Hist. of Conn., ut supra, ii. 640. || Id., ibid.

¶ Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Senr. . . . By I. M. Stuart. Boston, 1859, pp. 85-92.

* Copyright, 1884, by Edward Elbridge Salisbury.

Ingersoll, then in London, preserved among the family-papers, in which, after reporting the purchase of some law-books, he says:

"The very interesting Stamp Bill *for taming Americans* passed the House of Commons last Wednesday. I was present and heard all the Debate, Some of which was truly Noble, and *the whole very Entertaining*, at the same time Very Affecting, Especially to an American."

In 1766, Jonathan Trumbull being Chief Justice, he was made a Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut. On the death of Governor Pitkin, in 1769, when Trumbull became Governor, he took the highest seat on the bench as Chief Justice, which office he held during fifteen years. Meanwhile for thirteen of those years—from 1771 till 1784—he was Deputy-Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, of the Colony and newly formed State. In 1770 he was chosen one of the Commissioners for Propagating the Gospel in New England and parts adjacent in America, Andrew Oliver, of Boston, being the Secretary. The very efficient Council of Safety, formed in 1775 to aid the Governor through the struggles of the Revolution, whenever the Legislature should not be sitting, was headed by him from the first. The list of original members is given thus: "Matthew Griswold, William Pitkin, Roger Sherman, Abraham Davenport, William Williams, Titus Hosmer, Benjamin Payne, Gen. James Wadsworth, Benjamin Huntington, William Hillhouse, Thaddeus Burr, Nathaniel Wales, Jr., Daniel Sherman and Andrew Adams."* From 1784 to 1786 he was the Chief Magistrate of Connecticut, taking part, as such, in establishing the so-called continental policy in the State, by conceding to Congress the power of impost—an all-important first step in the formation of a National Government. His elevation to the chief magistracy is thus spoken of by the author of the *Life of Jonathan Trumbull*:

"But he [Trumbull] persisted in declining the proposed office, and the people therefore found another candidate for the gubernatorial chair in Honorable Matthew Griswold, a gentleman who now, for thirteen consecutive years, side by side with the veteran Trumbull, of his political faith, like him of tried conduct, high-minded and patriotic, had occupied the post of Lieutenant Governor of the State."†

In 1788 he presided over the Convention for the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States, to which, as Bancroft says in his latest historical work, "were chosen the retired and the present highest officers of its [the State's] Government, the judges of its courts, 'ministers of the Gospel,' and nearly sixty who had fought for independence."‡

* *Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Senr.* . . . By I. M. Stuart. Boston, 1859, p. 203, note.

† *Id.*, p. 641.

‡ *History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America.* By George Bancroft. New York, 1882, ii. 256; and comp. Hollister's *Hist. of Conn.*, ut supra, ii. 456-62.

The foregoing sketch may be properly supplemented by extracts from Governor Griswold's correspondence—letters both to him and from him—which will serve to set him in fuller light, while at the same time they bring some of the great public events of his time more vividly before us, thus grouped, as it were, around an individual life. I first give, nearly entire, so far as its tattered condition allows, a significant letter from Roger Sherman, dated January 11, 1766:

"Sir,

"I hope you will excuse the freedom which I take of mentioning, for your consideration, some things which appear to me a little extraordinary, and which I fear (if persisted in) may be prejudicial to the Interests of the Colony—more especially the late practice of great numbers of people Assembling and Assuming a kind of Legislative Authority, passing & publishing resolves &c.—will not the frequent Assembling such large Bodies of people, without any Laws to regulate or Govern their proceedings, tend to weaken the Authority of the Government, and naturally possess the minds of the people with such lax notions of Civil Authority as may lead to such disorders & confusions as will not be easily suppress'd or reformed? especially in such a popular Government as ours, for the well ordering of which good rules, and a wise, Steady Administration are necessary.—I esteem our present form of Government to be one of the happiest & best in the world: it secures the civil & religious rights and privileges of the people, and by a due administration has the best tendency to preserve and promote publick virtue, which is absolutely necessary to publick happiness. . . . There are doubtless some who envy us the enjoyment of these . . . privileges, and would be glad of any plausible excuse to deprive . . . therefore behooove . . . to conduct with prudence and caution at this critical juncture, when Arbitrary principles & measures, with regard to the colonies, are so much in vogue; and is it not of great importance that peace & harmony be preserved & promoted among ourselves; and that everything which may tend to weaken publick Government, or give the enemies of our happy constitution any advantage against us, be carefully avoided? I have no doubt of the upright intentions of those gentlemen who have promoted the late meetings in several parts of Colony, which I suppose were principally Intended to concert measures to prevent the Introduction of the Stamp papers, and not in the least to oppose the Laws or authority of the Government; but is there not danger of proceeding too far, in such measures, so as to involve the people in divisions and animosities among themselves, and . . . endanger our Charter-privileges? May not . . . being informed of these things view them in such a light . . . our present Democratical State of Government will not be Sufficient to Secure the people from falling into a State of Anarchy, and therefore determine a change to be necessary for that end, especially if they should have a previous Disposition for such a change?—Perhaps the continuing Such Assemblies will now be thought needless, as Mr Ingersoll has this week declared under Oath that he will not execute the office of Distributor of Stamps in this Colony, which declaration is published in the New Haven Gazette. I hope we shall now have his influence & Assistance in endeavoring to get rid of the Stamp Duties. . . .

"I hear one piece of News from the East which a little Surprizes me, that is, the publication of some exceptionable passages extracted from Mr Ingersoll's letters, after all the pains taken by the Sons of Liberty to prevent their being sent home to England. I was

glad when those letters were recalled, and that Mr. Ingersoll was free to retrench all those passages which were thought likely to be of disservice to the Government, and to agree for the future, during the present critical situation of affairs, not to write home anything but what should be inspected & approved by persons that the people of the Government would confide in ; but by means of the publication of those passages in the Newspapers they will likely arrive in England near as soon as if the original Letters had been sent, and perhaps will not appear in a more favourable point of light.—

"Sir, I hint these things for your consideration, being sensible that, from your situation, known abilities and interest in the Affections and esteem of the people, you will be under the best advantage to advise & influence them to such a conduct as shall be most likely to conduce to the publick Good of the Colony. I am, Sir, with great esteem, your Obedient, Humble Serv^t

Roger Sherman."

"New Haven, Jan. 11, 1766."

The following letter is from the Rev. Stephen Johnson, "the sincere and fervid pastor of the First Church of Lyme," who had left his parish in May 1775, to serve as Chaplain to the Regiment of Col. Parsons, afterwards present at the battle of Bunker Hill :

"Camp at Roxbury, 5th Oct^r. 1775.

"Hon^d Sir,

"Have not forgot our parting Conversation respecting writing to you—defer'd it a while, waiting for something important—the time of the Circuit drew on, in which I suppos'd the Conveyance would be lengthy & uncertain—but will defer no longer—Several vessels bound to Boston with Valuable Cargoes have fallen into our hands—one from New Providence, with Tortoise & fruit—one from Canada with Cattle, hogs, sheep & Poultry—one from Europe of 300 Tuns in Portsmouth, with 2200 Barrels of flour &c.—one that went out of Boston the Beginning of this week for wood &c : the Majority of the hands, being in our Favor, Brought her into our Port—a Captⁿ in her, who had been taken & carried into Boston about ten weeks ago, informs : Gen^l Gage Recalled, & this day to sail for Britain—Gen^l How succeeds, & was proclaimed Gov^r Last Tuesday—Commands & Resides in Boston—Clinton on Bunker's Hill : a Dissenter had informed that Gen^l Burgoin was gone to Congress in Philadelphia—this Captⁿ was inquired of about it, who says some in Boston affirmed it, others denyed it—all he Could say was that he used to see him often, but had not seen him for three days, &c.—he further says, 3 men of war, one of 64 guns, were going out, 2 or 3 mortars were put on board, and that it was said 2 Regiments were to go on board them, of which 49th Reg^t was one—their destination a secret. Some suppose they are to make attacks on Seaports nigh us—some that they are going to Philadelphia—others to Charlestown, South Carolina—others to Quebec, &c ; if Burgoin is gone to Philadelphia, I fear an insidious purpose, am more afraid of their gaining some important advantage against us by art & Corruption than by their arms ; perhaps the Colonies will find it expedient to Change their Delegates often to Congress—this I believe sooner or later will be found a Measure highly important to the General Safety and welfare.—& that Strict probity & incorruptability, Joyn'd with some prudence and Judgement, will be safer to trust to than more shining abilities, Joyn'd with an ambitious, avaritious & designing turn of mind : the Camp more healthy—have lost by Sickness

but 6 men out of our Regiment. My Best Regards to your Hon^r & Mrs Griswold. Dear Love to my Children—affectionate Regards to Friends and Parishoners. I am in haste
Affectionately Yours &c.

Stephen Johnson."

A few days later, in the same month, Deputy Gov. Griswold himself wrote from Cambridge to Gov. Trumbull, as follows :

" Cambridge, 20th Oct. 1775.

" Sir,

" I have to acquaint your Hon^r that an Express is arriv'd at Head Quarters from Portsmouth, Informing that on Monday last two or three Arm'd Vessels arriv'd at Falmouth in Casco Bay from Boston (being part of the Ministerial Force—They were attended with Sundry Transports all full of men), with orders to Destroy that and the Town of Portsmouth, in Case the Inhabitants Refus'd to Deliver up their Arms, give Hostages &c.—That on a Truce the People gave up Eight Musquets, and had time till nine of the Clock next Morning to Consider—That y^e Post came away about half after Eight—Just about nine he heard a heavy firing towards that place, Suppos'd the Terms were Rejected, & that the Cruel orders were Carrying into Execution. Gov^r Cook also has advice from Mr. Malebone, who was an Eye & Ear Witness (and is now here Present), that Captⁿ Wallace has orders to do the same to the Towns in Rhode Island & Connec^t, where any arm'd Force appears to oppose the Ministerial Troops : what Precaution is Necessary to be taken for the Protection of our Colony your Hon^r & the Hon^{ble} Gen^l Assembly will Consider. Some of our Connecticutt officers are very Desirous some further Provision might be made for Those of the People in the army belonging to our Colony that are or may be Sick.—

" It's Suppos'd not Expedient at present to Communicate any of the Matters Transacted by the Com^{tees} &c. Conven'd here, without Special Leave.

" I am with great Respect

Your Hon^{rs} most obedient humble Serv^t

Matth^w Griswold."

On the 27th of June, 1778, Gov. Griswold wrote a letter to Roger Sherman of which the following is an incomplete draft :

" Woodstock, June 27th, 1778.

" Sir,

" You have undoubtedly been advis'd of the Measures taken by the General Assembly of this State Relative to the Paper Currency : That upon a Motion made in our lower House of Assembly it was Resolv'd not to Suspend or Repeal the Act Regulating prices, that a letter [be] sent by our Assembly to the other New England States, Remonstrating against their Delaying to make provision for Regulating prices, accompanied by two Gen^{ls}, sent from our Assembly to Providence & Boston, to Enforce the Matter Contain'd in the Letter : who Returning without Success, our Gen^l Assembly Directed an Address to Congress, Requesting them to take up the Matter, and advise to Some Salutary Measures to prevent the Threatening Mischief of Sinking the Credit of the paper Currency ; pointing out in Some Measure the Dangerous Consequences to the army, and great advantage Sharpers and Disaffected Persons might take to oppress the People and Embarras the Common Cause : That, while the Copies were preparing, the Resolve of Congress came

to hand Advising a Repeal or Suspension of the Act ; which Induced the Assembly to suspend it till the Rising of the Gen^l Assembly in Oct^r next, apprehending it wou^d not be in the power of this State alone to Effect a Matter of that kind : That in Consequence of Such Suspension the price of Indian Corn Started to about 10/ and 12/ pr bushell, and Wheat is 18/ and 20/ pr bushell, and Some Demand more : Cattle and Sheep are sold, I believe between £20. and £30. pr cent. higher than Ever : Sharpers Siez'd the opportunity before the People were advis^d of the Suspension, & bought Cattle and Sheep for near £30. pr cent. Cheaper than y^e same might have been sold for 3 or 4 Days afterwards—I apprehend the Body of our People are much in fav^r of a Regulating act to Restrain the Licentiousness of the People, but Despair of being able, alone, to carry such a Measure into Execution ; That they wou^d have been greatly Dissatisfied with the Conduct of our Assembly in the Suspension, had it not been for the Resolve of Congress Relative thereto, but now acquiesce in what the Assembly did :—The Aversion many of our People have to Receive the Bills for outstanding Debts, or Indeed to have any Concern with them, has, I apprehend, Reduc'd their Credit to a lower State here than it was ever before, Tho' it seems the Demand for the Bills to pay Taxes, & the prospect of their final Redemption with Silver and Gold, may prevent their sinking much lower.—I Imagine our People will very much go into a Gen^l Barter to carry on their private affairs—what the Consequence will be I know not,—hope the Congress will Devise some proper Measures to Support the Army.—Our Gen^l Assembly have laid 1/ Tax on the List of 1777, to be paid y^e 1st Sep^r next, and also Directed the Treasurer to borrow one hundred Thousand pounds on Loan ; but that will not be an adequate Supply of the Treasury.

“Our People are pursuing their Husbandry with great Zeal and vigour. The Fruits of the Earth at present appear in a flourishing State, afford a hopeful prospect of Supplies for the Current year.—The Military preparations go on Slow. The Six Battallions order'd to be Rais'd for Defence are Reduced to two, Tho' I believe, if the State Sho'd be Immediately Invaded, the People would Run to arms with Spirit and vigour.

“These Threatening overtures call aloud for Reformation—the Event is known to him alone who Sitts at the helm, and Controuls all Events with Infinite Power & Unerring Wisdom.”

The following letter was written by Deputy Gov. Griswold to Gov. Trumbull :

“Lyme, August 3^d, 1779.

“Sir,

“Intelligence is Just Rec'd that I apprehend may be Relied on, that the Enemy are preparing a large Fleet at New York, said to be Design'd on an Expedition Eastward : That another lesser Fleet are now fitting out at Huntington : That a great Premium & Wages are offered to such as will Inlist, with the whole of the Plunder they may take—as this latter Fleet is principally mann^d with Tories, whose Rage and Malice seems to have no bounds, it is Suppos'd their Design is to Ravage the Coast of this State ; it's Conjectured that the large Fleet have New London for their object, while that in the Sound plunder & burn the Towns lying on the Seashore. Such an Armament must presume the Enemy have some very Important object in view : what More Probable than to pursue the above Plan, I submit. Upon the Present appearances, your Exilency and other Gen^{ls} of the Council will undoubtedly be of opinion that nessasary precaution ought to be taken to

prevent the bad Consequence of such an operation of the Enemy—would Recommend to Consideration whether it wou'd not be adviseable Rather to Increase the Guards on the Sea Coast, and that the Malitia on the Sea Shore sho'd not be drawn off to Distant places in Case of Alarm : Perhaps the State are in great Danger from a Tory Fleet in the Sound : Tho' their force is not sufficient to Conquer the State, yet, if the men were call'd off, the Families & Property wou'd be Expos'd to be Ravag'd by a Number of Savage Mortals, whose Tender Mercies are Cruelty : whether it wou'd not be Expedient that Beacons be provided to give Notice, and that the Malitia be arrang'd under their proper officers, with Signals to Direct them where to Repair, and to Run to the Relief of the place attack'd : That Immediate care be taken to provide a Competent Number of Cartridges, and Deposited in the Most Convenient places : and that orders be Issu'd for a view of Arms once in a few Days, that So they be Kept in Constant Repair.—I take the Freedom to mention these Matters as Worthy of the greatest attention in this alarming Situation of Affairs.—Sho'd wait on your Excellency were it not for attending the Circuit.

"I am with great Respect & Esteem Your Excellencies Most obed^t Humble Serv^t

Matth^r Griswold "

" His Exc^y Gov. Trumbull. "

The next letter in the series selected for this paper is from Gov. Trumbull:

" Lebanon, Aug. 17, 1780.

" Gent.

" I inclose a Copy of the Doings of a Convention lately held in Boston, for your perusal, Consideration & opinion, and very especially with respect to the Embargo.* I have sent out for the attendance of all the Council of Safety on Wednesday the 23^d of August inst, with a particular view to take up & conclude upon that matter, and, as I presume your Engagem^{ts} will not permit your attendance, wish your attention & opinion on that Subject before the meeting : in an affair of so much Consequence I choose to act with all the advise & assistance which can be obtained.

" I am with Esteem & Consideration,
Gentlemen, your most Obed^t
and very h^ble Servant

Jonth Trumbull."

" Hon^{ble} Matthew Griswold,
Eliph^s Dyer & Wm Pitkin Esquires "

* One of the resolutions of this Convention was : " That it be recommended to the several States that have Acts laying an Embargo on the Transportation of Articles by Land from one State to another, to repeal them as being unnecessary, and tending rather to injure than serve the Common Cause we are engaged to support and maintain ; to continue Embargos on Provisions by Water, and that particular Care be taken to prevent all illicit Trade with the Enemy." The Acts here recommended to be repealed were intended to prevent scarcity, and keep down prices—their utility had been perceived. But the attention of this Convention was not given solely, or chiefly, to economical questions : " They urged the adoption of the Articles of Confederation," which is " regarded as the first public Expression of Opinion, by a deliberative Body, in Favor of such a Measure." See Proceedings of a Conv. of Delegates . . . held at Boston August 3-9, 1780 . . . By Franklin B. Hough. Albany, 1867, pp. 43-44, & Preface p. v.; and comp. Bancroft's Hist. of U. States . . . Rev. ed., Boston, 1876, vi. 343.

Next follows a letter from Samuel Huntington, touching an important crisis in the campaign of the South, which was followed, within about seven months, by the siege of Yorktown and the close of the war:*

"Philadelphia, March 5th, 1781.

"Gentlemen,

"My situation deprives me of the pleasure of communicating to you from time to time many occurrences to which Inclination would lead did time permit. †

"The situation of the Southern States hath been critical for some time; after the battle at the Cowpens where Col. Tarlton was totally defeated, & upwards of five hundred of his Corps made prisoners by Gen'l Morgan, L^d Cornwallis, enraged, as it seems, at that Event, burnt and destroy'd his wagons and heavy baggage, & with his whole force, consisting of about three thousand, pursued Gen'l Morgan, his first object being suppos'd to be to retake the prisoners; his pursuit was rapid for upwards of two hundred miles, until he arriv'd on the Southern borders of Virginia. Gen'l Morgan, by his Activity & prudence, with the assistance of a kind Providence, brought off his Troops & prisoners.

"This rapid movement of Cornwallis must have thrown the Country into consternation through which he marched, and met with no resistance until he arriv'd at Dan river on the borders of Virginia.

"Gen'l Greene, with his little army, consisting of but two thousand, was obliged to retreat over the river; which was done without any loss of Troops or baggage.

"By a letter come to hand from Gov^t Jefferson, copy of which is enclos'd, it appears that the militia of the Country are rallied to that degree that Cornwallis is retreating, in his turn, towards Hillsborough, North Carolina, & Gen'l Greene in pursuit of him.

"The army under Cornwallis are such a distance from the protection of their shipping, nothing seems wanting but the spirited exertions of the Country in aid of Gen'l Greene to make them all prisoners; but we must wait tho' with anxiety to know the Event.

"I have the Honour to be with the highest respect Your Humble Serv^t

Sam: Huntington."

"The Hon^{ble}
Judges of the Sup^r Court in Connecticut."

The next two letters which I give are from Roger Sherman:

"Philadelphia, Aug. 14th, 1781.

"Sir,

"A ship arrived here last Sabbath day from Cadiz, and brought Letters from our Minister and his Secretary at the Court of Spain: they mention that about 8000 Troops are ready to Embark on a Secret expedition, and confirm the accounts we have had from the London Papers of the resignation of Mr. Neckar, Financier of France, Occasioned by some Discontent.—The President received a Letter last Saturday from Gen'l Green, dated July 17th, giving account of the operations of his Army for about a month—he mentions the evacuation of Ninety Six by the Enemy, that they retired to Orangeburgh, about 80

* Comp. History of the United States of America. By Richard Hildreth. New York, 1856, iii. 343-48; and Bancroft's United States . . . Rev. ed., ut supra, vi. 380-94.

† The writer was at this time a Member of Congress.

miles from Charlestown ; that they also occupied a Post at Monk's Corner, about 26 miles from Charlestown ; that they have no Post in Georgia except Savannah ; that Georgia has resumed civil Government ; That a party of our men took three waggons & stores from the Enemy on a march from Charlestown toward Orangeburgh—that Col. Lee had taken a party of horse consisting of one Captain, one Lt & one Cornet, and 45 privates, with their horses and Accoutrements. It is expected that civil Government will soon be re-established in South Carolina. Mr. Jay wrote that he expected a Safe conveyance in about a fortnight from the time he wrote (May 29th), when he should send a long letter—I enclose a Copy of resolutions respecting the State of Vermont, which will prepare the way for a settlement of that controversy, they passed very unanimously.—

"The enclosed papers contain the news of the day. . . . Should be glad to be informed whether any provision of money is made for support of Government, I have about £100. due for service in the Sup^r Court which I should be glad to receive.—I wrote some time ago to the Gov^r & Council of Safety for some money to be sent to bear my expences here: *if I don't have some soon, I shall be totally destitute*, it is very expensive living here, and *no money can be obtained but from the State*. There are many refugees here from South Carolina & Georgia, lately redeemed from Captivity : Congress have recommended a loan & a Contribution for their relief.

"I am, Sir, with great Regard

Your Honor's obedient & humble servant

Roger Sherman."

"The honorable
Mathew Griswold, Esq^r."

"New Haven, July 12th, 1784.

"Sir,

"I received your Excellency's Letter of the 6th Instant, with the papers inclosed. The public service requires that the men should be furnished as soon as possible to take possession of the western Posts, which are expected soon to be evacuated by the British Garrisons, as also to Aid the Commissioners in treating with the Indians. The Secretary in the war office ought to have Informed Your Excellency what number & kinds of officers besides the Major are to be furnished by this State ; as the States are not to be at any expence in raising the men, I should think it would be most for the Interest of this State that your Excellency, with such advice as you may think proper to take, should appoint the officers, & order the men to be inlisted. I should think it would be well for your Excellency to take the opinion of the Hon. Oliver Wolcot who is one of the Commissioners to treat with the Indians : there seems to be a defect in the Laws as to the powers of the Supreme Executive authority in the State, or they are not sufficiently explicit in all cases.

"I have no doubt but that the Assembly would have desired your Excellency to have executed this requisition if they had known it would have been made.

"Your Excellency will be best able to Judge what will be expedient.

"I am with Great respect

Your Excellency's humble Servant

Roger Sherman."

"His Excellency Governor Griswold"

I give one more of Governor Griswold's own letters:

"Lyme, August 1, 1784

"Sir,

"I understand that *our Delagate is Detain'd from Congress only for want of money*: how far the want of Representation in that Important Body may affect the Interest & Safety of this State I know not—it is Certainly a very Dangerous Threatening Situation for this State to be in—I Inform'd you before that the Assembly had order'd Drafts to be made on the Sheriffs for that purpose, that those Drafts were made accordingly, and *Directed you to lay by the first money for that use you cou'd Collect*. I now Repeat the same Requi'sition in the Most Pressing manner, & Desire you will push the Collection with all Possible Dispatch, till you receive your part of the £200; and what money, more or less, you can obtain send forthwith to Stephen M. Mitchel, Esq^r at Weathersfield, who has the order, and is appointed one, of the Delagates—It's but a small sum that is Required of Each of the Sheriffs—The Delay may be more Injurious than ten times the value of the Money—

"From S^r your most obedient
humble Servt

"Elijah Abel Esq"

Matth^y Griswold"

The last letter to be given here, from Oliver Wolcott, Governor Griswold's brother-in-law, though partly private, closes this series appropriately, by its reference to the retirement of the governor from public life:

"Litchfield, Nov^r 22^d 1788

"Sir,

"Your Excellency's Favour inclosing Mr Worthington's Sermon on the Death of my Sister has been rec^d. The Object of this Sermon (without Partiality) most certainly deserved all the Eulogium which the Preacher has bestowed upon her personal Virtues.—By her Death I am sensible you have lost a most Valuable Companion, and her other Relations and Acquaintance, a Person who was most dear to them.—

"But such is the Will of God, and it becomes us to Acquiesce in the Divine Dispensation. May we be prepared to meet her in that State of Happiness which will admit of no Separation!—All our Injoyments are fleeting and insecure, that which you mentioned relative to your discontinuance in publick Office evinces the Truth of the Observation.—But this event, tho' disagreeable, was not effected by false and insidious Insinuations to the Injury of your moral Character (which others have most unjustly supposed), but from an Apprehension that your want of Health would render the office very burdensome to yourself, and less beneficial to the State, than your former Administration had been, however ill-founded this Opinion might be. Yet the Consciousness of your own Integrity, and the Universal Opinion of the State in this respect, must render the event far less disagreeable than it would otherwise have been.—That you may finally be Approved of by that Being who cannot err is the Devout wish of, Sir,

Your most obed^t humble
Servt

Oliver Wolcott."

"Mrs. Wolcott presents
to you her sincere Respects."

Other letters have been preserved, from William Samuel Johnson, Col. William Ledyard, Roger Sherman, Stephen Mix Mitchell, Charles Thomson (Secretary of Congress), Oliver Wolcott, Samuel Huntington, Governor Treadwell, Jonathan Sturgis, James Wadsworth and Erastus Wolcott.

Here we pause to speak of Lyme and its position and influence in Revolutionary times. It was on the great route between Boston and New York. Old men still remember the heavily laden coaches, as their horses dashed up to the door of the old Parsons Tavern, which stood unfenced upon the wide, open green, horns blowing, dogs barking, boys running, neighbors gathering, while the passengers descended. Many persons of note trod "the dry, smooth-shaven green," and shook off the dust of travel. The landlord, Marshfield Parsons, had not removed to Newburyport with his father, the Rev. Jonathan Parsons, and his Griswold mother. His tavern and the ball-room over the back part of it were the resort of the neighbors for all assemblies, social and political. For religious purposes they climbed to the site of the meeting-house on the Meeting-House Hills. Near the green lived the pastor, Rev. Stephen Johnson, son of Mr. Nathaniel Johnson and Sarah Ogden, his wife, of Newark, N. J. The spirit of "good old John Ogden," the pioneer, seemed to have descended to him, and in this small, quiet village he had "scented the battle afar off," and ten years before the Revolution had published and disseminated fiery articles in opposition to the Stamp Act, which led to the banding together of the Sons of Liberty. Bancroft says: "Thus the Calvinist ministers nursed the flame of piety and of civil freedom. Of that venerable band, none did better service than the American-born Stephen Johnson, pastor of the First Church of Lyme."* Doubtless his zeal was increased by the ardor of his next neighbor, Mr. John McCurdy, a Scotch-Irish gentleman who had lived to early manhood amid the oppressions of the English Government in Ireland, and who eagerly assumed the expense of the publication and dissemination of the incendiary papers. Young Samuel Holden Parsons had been brought up under Johnson's teachings. When he led his command to Bunker Hill, Mr. Johnson, the spirit of "the church militant" stirring within him, left his pulpit, and accompanied Parsons's regiment as Chaplain. Matthew Griswold, under the same influences, fulfilled the patriotic duties of his lifetime. All these men were in constant communication, personal and by letter, with the leading men of the period. To them others would come. No

* History of the United States of America . . . By George Bancroft. The Author's last Revision. New York, 1883, iii. 141.

doubt many political meetings, both proposed and accidental, were convened on the arrival of the coach.

In other parts of the town lived Dr. John Noyes, a distinguished surgeon in the Revolutionary army, whose wife was a granddaughter of the first governor Wolcott of Connecticut, and a niece of Mrs. Gov. Matthew Griswold; Col. David Fithin Sill; Col. Samuel Selden; and other brave officers and soldiers of the Revolution, among whom was Capt. Ezra Lee, who was selected by Gen. Parsons, under directions from Washington, for the daring attempt, which proved unsuccessful, to blow up a British man-of-war in the harbor of New York.

When on the 9th of April, 1776, Gen. Washington slept at the house of Mr. McCurdy,* as he traveled from Boston to New York, after taking command of the American army, all the prominent men within reach gathered to take counsel with him. Again, when on the 27th of July, 1778, the young Gen. Lafayette marched through Lyme with his troops, and staid at the house of Mr. McCurdy on the green,† while they rested in a field nearly

* This house, built early in the eighteenth century, still stands in good condition, and is occupied by Judge Charles Johnson McCurdy, of the third generation of its occupants of the family. When, in 1824, General Lafayette made his triumphal journey through the country, he and his party breakfasted with Mr. Richard McCurdy of the second generation.

† The Professor of American History in Yale College, Professor Dexter, has favored me with the following notes:

"General Washington set out from Cambridge for New York Thursday, April 4, 1776.

"His first recorded stopping-place is Providence, which he left on Sunday, April 7.

"At Norwich, Governor Trumbull met him by appointment, and dined with him; and 'in the evening' (i. e. Monday afternoon, it would seem) the General started for New London [where he passed one night only, and breakfasted, as is known, on Tuesday at Caulkins's tavern, between New London and Lyme].

"The next fixed date is his arrival in New Haven on Thursday morning, April 11 (according to the New Haven newspaper of the next week); and after a few hours' tarry he pushed on towards New York, which he entered on Saturday.

"If tradition is good for anything, it can certainly be relied on to prove that General Washington slept in Lyme on Tuesday night, April 9th. He was accompanied by General Gates and other officers. Mrs. Washington came by way of Hartford, a few days later."

"In reply to your inquiry . . . I send the following extract from the Diary kept at New Haven by President Stiles:

"1778, July 26. Lord's Day. The 2 Brigades &c. lodged at Milford last night & travelled hither with their Baggage this Morning . . . The Troops began to enter the Town a little before vii o'clock . . .

"At ix the Marquis de la Fayette, aet. 22, and Gen. Varnum, with Col. Sherburn & Col. Fleury visited me . . . At iv P. M., just at the finishing of meetings, the whole Corps began their March and left the Town by iv½; at which Time the Marquis & his suite came up to Dr Daggett & myself just from Chapel, & took Leave. They proceed by 2 Roads, Gen. Varnum's & Col. Philips's viâ Middletown, Hartford, &c., Gen. Glover's (in which the Marquis) viâ Seaside."

opposite, all the surrounding country poured forth its inhabitants to do him honor.

In this connection it may not be amiss to mention that, about the year 1753, Benjamin Franklin, having then been appointed joint Postmaster-General for the colonies, and making a journey into New England on that business,* passed through Lyme in his chaise, measuring distances (as is said by some mechanical contrivance connected with the revolution of his wheels), at which mile-stones were set up by men who followed after him. One of those stones may still be seen on the Meeting-House Hills.

On his retirement from public life in 1788 Gov. Griswold devoted much time to farming operations, which indeed seem to have always interested him. Prof. Dexter has kindly called my attention to the following curious entries in the manuscript "Itinerary" of a journey from New London to New Haven in October, 1790, by Pres. Stiles:

"Gov^r Griswold now æt. 76, born at Lyme 1710,† fitted for College, settled a Farmer: studied law proprio Marte, bo't him the first considera^l Law Library in Connect^t, took Att^o oath & began practice 1743—a great Reader of Law.

"Has a fine Library of well chosen Books, 140 Fol. & 400 other Volumes, or about 550 Volumes, now left in his Study, besides a part of his Libr^y given to his Son in Norwich—about 200 Law Books, the rest Hist^y & Divinity.

"On leaving the chair of Gov^r he went to Farming. He has a Farm of 400 acres, stock 100 Head of Cattle, cuts 100 Loads Hay, Eng. besides Salt, 22 acres Indⁿ corn & 80 Bush^s Wheat & 400 Bush^s oats Raised this year. Hires 6 or 7 men; 38 & 40 cows, Dairy 3m.^{lb} cheese, 400^{lb} Butter Fall Sales. In perfect Health of Body & Mind. Lame yet vigorous. Cart^s 400 Loads Dung, sea weed &c., last year. At close of Gov^r had 40 Head Cattle & cut 40 or 50 Loads Hay only. Has 50 acres Salt Marsh; 18 or 20 stacks Hay now round his Barn, 3 or 4 Tons each."

On a subsequent leaf is the following Memorandum:

"Gov^r Griswolds Farm Stock 1790

23 Hogs, 8 yoke Oxen, 17 Fat Cattle, 25 Cows, 3000^{lb} cheese, 400^{lb} Butter, 8000^{lb} Beef sale or 17 Fat Cattle, 400 Bush^s Oats, 500 do. Ind. corn, 100 Loads Eng. Hay, 80 do. salt do., 500^{lb} Flax, 45 Bush^s Wheat, 120 do. Rye, 105 sheep."

The Griswold family-archives also contain a paper entitled "Remarks on Liberty and the African Trade," by Governor Griswold, dated July 1st 1795, and apparently intended for publication. Domestic slaves appear to

"I suppose this fixes the date of Lafayette's visit at Lyme as Monday, July 27, 1778. I learn from Sparks's Letters of Washington that Lafayette reached Providence on Wednesday, July 29."

* See Life of Benjamin Franklin. . . By Jared Sparks . . . Boston, 1844, p. 174.

† A slip of the pen for 1714—the true date—as he gives his age as 76.

have been owned in the Griswold family from the earliest times, as was the case in most New England families of the higher class. But the opportunity is a rare one to know by his own words, in a somewhat lengthy argument, how the subject was viewed by one of the Revolutionary patriots of New England. There are several drafts of this paper, differing slightly; I use that which seems the most finished. The whole course of thought will be made clear by the following abstract and quotations :

Man was created in absolute dependence upon the Almighty, and, for his good, was originally placed under laws, obedience to which "fixes the subject in the highest Liberty." But he willfully disobeyed, whereupon, instead of exacting the full penalty, God allowed "fallen man to Incorporate into a state of Civil Government . . . as the Circumstances of Each Common Wealth sho'd Require . . ." the power of the State being limited to temporal rights and properties, exclusive of "matters of Conscience & a Superintending Power . . ."

"So that upon the ground of Creation, Preservation and Redemption every man is Born under the most Inviolable Subjection of obedience to the Divine Law and also under Subjection to the Civil Laws of the Common Wealth where he happens to be, that are not Contrary to the Divine Law . . . Nothing is more injurious to Civil Society than using a Licentious Liberty . . ."

Natural right to absolute liberty is a fallacy. "In regard to the African Trade, to set the matter in its true light, it is necessary to Consider the state of those People in their Native Country, constantly at war with one another, and liable to be put to the sword by the victor . . ."

"The question arises whether Transporting those Captives from their Native Country can be warrantable. Any suppos'd wrong must arise from one of two things : either from a Tortious Entry into the Territories of a foreign State, trampling upon their Laws, Disturbing the Peace ; or from Personal Wrong done to the Individuals Remov'd. In Regard to the first, as the Captives, by the Laws of that Country, are made an Article of Commerce, to Enter for Trade cannot be Tortious ; Respecting the Latter, it's nessasary to Compare the state of those Persons before and after their Removal ;"

being in their native country in heathenish darkness, and under despotism, whereas in Connecticut they become

"plac'd under the Government of a master who is bound to Provide nessasaries sufficient for their Comfort in Life, are Protected by Law from Cruelty and oppression, if abused have their Remedy . . . against their own master . . ."

"The notion of some that Slavery is worse than Death is a most Capital Error. For, as a State of Trial & Probation for Happiness thro' an Endless Eternity is the greatest

favor that was ever Granted to a fallen Creature, as Death puts a final End to that State of Trial, so Life must be of more Importance than any other Enjoyment can be in this world . . .

"Those held in service may be Divided into five Classes: The aggressor in War seems to take the first Rank: he, by taking a part in a Bloody War forfeits both Life & Liberty together, may be slain; as Liberty is only a part of the Forfeiture, the Captor, by taking a part for the whole, does the Captive no Injustice: the Instance of the Gibeonites is a voucher for" holding such to service . . . "The next Class to be Considered is the Innocent Captives who have taken no active part in the war . . . to purchase those Captives, and bring them away, is to Save their lives, is a meritorious act, Entitles the Purchaser, by the Laws of Salvage, to the Purchase-Money by the Labor of the Captive . . . The next Class . . . those sold for Adultery or other Atrocious Crimes . . . there can be no Doubt but they ought to be Punished," and by the Laws of Moses were punished even by death. " . . . The next class is those Kidnapped by Gangs of Private Robbers: . . . many of those Poor Children are bro't many hundred miles, and if they were Releas'd on the Sea Coast there is no Chance they wou'd ever arrive at the places of their Nativity . . . if the Purchase was Refus'd, those Abandoned Villains who Committed the fact wou'd probably put all to the Sword—what then sho'd hinder the Laws of Salvage from taking place in such case of Life & Death, but that the Purchaser ought to Step in, & Redeem the Poor Prisoners, take the part of a kind Guardian to them, hold them in Reasonable service till they have paid the Purchase-money, then Release them if they behave well? . . . As to those Born here, tho' some hold that the Son must be Considered in the likeness of the Father, that, if the Father be in Bondage, the Son must be so too . . . that seems carrying the point too far; but it seems those Children cannot be considered entitled to the Privileges of free Denizens, for, as the Father was an Alien, and that Disability not Remov'd, the Son must be so too . . . *Political Privileges are Hereditary* . . . Therefore, upon the Ground of Debt, the Son may be Rightfully held till he has paid that Debt for his Support, Education, Schooling, etc. . . .

"By a Sovereign Act to set them all free at one blow, and Dissolve the Legal Right of the Masters to their Service, which the Masters Purchased with their own money, under the Sanction of the Law, wou'd be Rather using the Law as a Snare to Deceive the People . . .

"The master ought to learn his servant to Read and understand the Bible . . . Supply him with the necessaries of Life in a Reasonable Manner, in Sickness and health, speak kindly to him, Encourage him in his Business, give him the Praise when he does well, Cheer his Spirits, *but not with fondness or Familiarity*; let him know his Proper Distance, at the same time give him Moral Evidence of Sincere Friendship, frown upon vice . . . Govern him with a steady hand, not with Undue Severity . . . If those measures were Properly Pursued, it wou'd be laying the ax at the Root of the Tree, and I sho'd hope for better times . . .

"I am sensible that the Idea of being Commanded at the will of another is Disagreeable to the feelings of the Humane mind under its Present Depravity: but *that Impression is merely Imaginary*. . . Those Servants in Connecticut under the care & Guardianship of kind masters, and contented where they are well Provided for, without any care or anxiety of their own, are some of the Happiest People in the State . . . but such is the Misery of the fallen Race that many of them cannot bear Prosperity: Preferment, Wealth, Respect and kindness Inflames their Pride and Haughtiness. . . . I wish that every Per-

son was Possess'd of the Virtue, Industry and Prudence that Qualifies a Person for Freedom, and Proper Measures were taken to make all free; But to set such free as ought to be Restrained wou'd tend to sap the foundations of Civil Government. . . . I wou'd Query whether the same Principles which Induced the . . . Society [for emancipation] to undertake to Relieve against the Tyranny & oppression of Cruel Masters does not Equally oblige to Endeavour, if Possible, to Relieve these Poor People against the Soul-Ruining advise of some bad People, and also against the Excess of their own Misconduct. . . .

"I hope for wise Reasons the future Importation of Slaves into this State will be Effectually Prevented—it seems the foundation for it is laid already. No Common Wealth can hardly be more hurt than by bringing bad People into it, or making them so that are in it already. Some men of Sensibility seem to hold that holding those People in Service is one of the Crying Sins of the Land, while others Congratulate them upon their Deliverance from Heathenish Darkness: many appear Ignorant of the True Principles upon which natural Liberty is founded, which can consist in Nothing Else than in a Spirit of Obedience to the Divine Law . . . July 1st, 1795."

To the foregoing a few sentences should be added with respect to Governor Griswold's personal character. I quote from a funeral sermon preached on his death, by the Rev. Lathrop Rockwell of Lyme:

"In this, & in all the offices which he sustained, he distinguished himself as a faithful servant of the public; and the whole tenor of his conduct was happily designated with fidelity, integrity, uprightness and a high regard for the good of his constituents.

"But, if we descend to the more private walks of life, and view his character as a private citizen, we shall find the social sweetly blended with the Christian virtues. He possessed a benevolent disposition, which rendered his deportment truly engaging in all the domestic relations. Having a frank and open heart, he was sincere in all his professions of friendship . . . He was truly hospitable, and abounded in acts of charity"* . . .

Conspicuous as Governor Griswold became in public life, and accustomed as he was from early days to express his opinions on important subjects, he was yet naturally diffident and shy. He had some time desired to marry a lady in Durham, Conn., of a family since distinguished in Western New York. She, however, preferred to marry a physician, and kept Matthew Griswold in waiting, ready to accept him in case the doctor did not come forward. With some intimation of this state of affairs, and aroused by it, Matthew Griswold at last pressed the lady for a decision. She answered hesitatingly that she "wished for more time." "Madam," said he, rising with decision, "I give you your *lifetime*," and withdrew. She *took* her lifetime, and never married. Naturally diffident as he was, and rendered by this discomfiture still more self-distrustful, he might

* A Sermon delivered at the funeral of his Excellency Matthew Griswold Esq . . . By Lathrop Rockwell . . . New London, 1802, pp. 14-15.

have never approached a lady again. His second cousin Ursula Wolcott and he had exchanged visits at the houses of their parents from childhood, till a confiding affection had grown up between them. His feelings were understood, but not declared. Time passed ; it might be that he would take *his* lifetime. At last, Ursula, with the resolution, energy and good sense which characterized her, seeing the situation, rose to its control. Meeting him about the house, she occasionally asked him : "What did you say, cousin Matthew?" "Nothing," he answered. Finally, meeting him on the stairs, she asked : "What did you *say*, cousin Matthew?" "Nothing," he answered. "It's *time* you *did*," said she. Then he *did*, and the result was a long and happy marriage, in which his wife shared his anxieties, counsels and successes, brought up a superior family of children, and in his frequent absences, and when he was overburthened with cares, administered the concerns of a large farm, and controlled a numerous household of negro servants and laborers.

The marriage of Ursula Wolcott and Matthew Griswold re-united two of the leading families of Connecticut, by the new bond of a singular identity of official position ; for the lady was both daughter, sister, wife, aunt, and, as we shall presently see, mother, too, of a governor of the State. This singular coincidence led a living descendant of hers* to discover the still more remarkable fact that around the name of this lady could be grouped, as all belonging in a sense to her family-circle, twelve Governors of States, thirty-six high Judges (most of them distinct persons from any of the governors), and many other eminent men. The particulars have been briefly stated in a very interesting paper, which on every account deserves a place in this memorial record:

" Family Circle
of
Mrs. Ursula (Wolcott) Griswold. †

"Ursula Wolcott was born in Windsor (now South Windsor), Connecticut, Oct. 30, 1724 ; married Matthew Griswold of Lyme, Connecticut, Nov. 11, 1743 ; and died April 5, 1788.

" I. GOVERNORS.

- "1. *Roger Wolcott*, her father, was Governor of Connecticut.
- "2. *Oliver Wolcott, Sen.*, her brother, was Governor of Connecticut ; also Signer of the Declaration of Independence.
- "3. *Oliver Wolcott, Jr.*, her nephew, was Governor of Connecticut ; also Secretary of the Treasury under Washington.

* Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury.

† From New Engl. Hist. and Geneal. Register. Boston, 1879, xxxiii. 223-25, with additions.

- "4. *Matthew Griswold, Sen.*, her husband, was Governor of Connecticut.
- "5. *Roger Griswold*, her son, was Governor of Connecticut ; also was offered by the elder President Adams, but declined, the post of Secretary of War.
- "6. *William Wolcott Ellsworth*, her first cousin's grandson, was Governor of Connecticut.
- "7. *William Pitkin, 3d*, her second cousin, was Governor of Connecticut.
- "8. *William Woodbridge*, her grandnephew through her husband, was Governor of Michigan.
- "9. *Jonathan Trumbull, Sen.*, her third cousin through the Drakes, was Governor of Connecticut.
- "10. *Jonathan Trumbull, Jr.*, fourth cousin of her children, was Governor of Connecticut ; also Speaker of the United States House of Representatives ; also United States Senator.
- "11. *Joseph Trumbull*, her remoter cousin, was Governor of Connecticut.
- "12. *Frederick W. Pitkin*, of the same Pitkin blood as herself, was lately Governor of Colorado.

"II. JUDGES.

- "1. *Roger Wolcott*, her father (I. 1), was Judge of the Superior Court, Connecticut.
- "2. *Roger Wolcott, Jr.*, her brother, was Judge of the Superior Court, Connecticut.
- "3. *Erastus Wolcott*, her brother, was Judge of the Superior Court, Connecticut.
- "4. *Oliver Wolcott*, her brother (I. 2), was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Connecticut.
- "5. *Oliver Wolcott*, her nephew (I. 3), was Judge of the United States Circuit Court.
- "6. *Josiah Wolcott*, her second cousin, was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Massachusetts.
- "7. *Matthew Griswold, Sen.*, her husband (I. 4), was Chief Justice of Connecticut.
- "8. *Matthew Griswold, Jr.*, her son, was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut.
- "9. *Roger Griswold*, her son (I. 5), was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut.
- "10. *Oliver Ellsworth*, who married her first cousin's daughter Abigail Wolcott, was Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court ; also United States Senator ; also United States Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of France.
- "11. *William Wolcott Ellsworth* (I. 6), son of Abigail (Wolcott) Ellsworth, was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut.
- "12. *Samuel Holden Parsons*, her nephew through her husband, was appointed by Washington the first Chief Justice of the Northwest Territory.
- "13. *Stephen Titus Hosmer*, who married her grandniece Lucia Parsons, was Chief Justice of Connecticut.
- "14. *Thomas Scott Williams*, who married Delia Ellsworth, granddaughter of Abigail (Wolcott) Ellsworth, was Chief Justice of Connecticut.
- "15. *William Pitkin, 2d*, first cousin of her father, was Judge of the Superior Court, and Chief Justice of Connecticut.
- "16. *William Pitkin, 3d*, her second cousin (I. 7), was Chief Justice of Connecticut.
- "17. *William Pitkin, 4th*, third cousin of her children, was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut.
- "18. *Matthew Allyn*, who married her second cousin Elizabeth Wolcott, was Judge of the Superior Court, Connecticut.

- " 19. *Jonathan Trumbull, Sen.*, her third cousin (I. 9), was Chief Justice of Conn.
- " 20. *John Trumbull*, of the same descent, was Judge of the Superior Court, Conn.
- " 21. *James Lanman*, who married her granddaughter Marian Chandler, was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut.
- " 22. *Lafayette S. Foster*, who married her great-granddaughter Joanna Lanman, was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut; also United States Senator, and Acting Vice-President of the United States.
- " 23. *Nathaniel Pope*, who married her grandniece Lucretia Backus, was Judge of the United States Court of Illinois.
- " 24. *Henry T. Backus*, her grandnephew, who married her grandniece Juliana Trumbull Woodbridge, was Judge of the United States Court of Arizona.
- " 25. *William Woodbridge*, her grandnephew (I. 8), was Judge of the Supreme Court, Michigan.
- " 26. *Ebenezer Lane*, her grandson, who married her granddaughter Frances Griswold, was Chief Justice of Ohio.
- " 27. *William Griswold Lane*, her great-grandson, who married her great-granddaughter Elizabeth Diodate Griswold, was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Ohio.
- " 28. *Charles Johnson McCurdy*, her great-grandson, was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut; also United States Chargé d'Affaires in Austria; also Member of the Peace Congress of 1861.
- " 29. *Sherlock J. Andrews*, who married her great-granddaughter Ursula McCurdy Allen, was Judge of the Superior Court, Ohio.
- " 30. *John Henry Boalt*, her great-grandson, was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Nevada.
- " 31. *Charles Allen*, late Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, was of the same Pitkin blood as herself.
- " 32. *Aaron Hackley*, who married Sophia Griswold, her great-great-grandniece (a descendant of her brother Oliver), was Judge of the Supreme Court of New York.
- " 33. *Josiah Hawes*, descended from her brother Roger, was Circuit Judge, Michigan.
- " 34. *Henry Baldwin*, son of her second cousin Theodora Wolcott, was a Justice of the United States Supreme Court.
- " 35. *Henry Matson Waite*, Chief Justice of Connecticut, and
- " 36. *Morrison Remick Waite*, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, descended from her own and her husband's ancestor Henry Wolcott, the first of the name in this country, and from her husband's ancestor the first Matthew Griswold.

" Notes.

" Most of those above named as Governors and Judges held, also, other high offices. All those mentioned as connected with Mrs. Griswold through her husband were also related to her by Wolcott blood, her husband and herself having been second cousins.

" Dr. Trumbull, in his *History of Connecticut*, i. 227, note, says: 'Some of the [Wolcott] family have been Members of the Assembly, Judges of the Superior Court, or Magistrates, from the first settlement of the colony to this time—A.D. 1797—during the term of more than a century and a half.' According to Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., Gov. William Pitkin 'belonged to a family in which the honors of office seemed to have become hereditary. A Pitkin sat at the Council-board for three-quarters of a century, six or seven

years only excepted.' A similar remark might be applied to the public life of the Griswolds and Trumbulls.

"Among the connections of Mrs. Griswold, not mentioned, have been many men eminent in the learned professions, judges of other courts, members of both Houses of Congress, eminent merchants, military officers of high rank, etc.

"*Professor Simon Greenleaf*, the distinguished professor of law in Harvard University, was her grandnephew through her husband. *Mr. George Griffin*, the eminent lawyer of New York, and the famous *Rev. Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin*, were of the same Wolcott and Griswold lineage as herself and her husband.

"*Christopher P. Wolcott* of Ohio, who was Attorney-General of Ohio, afterwards Judge-Advocate-General, and died when Assistant Secretary of War, was her great-grandnephew.

"*Lyman Trumbull*, Justice of the Supreme Court, Illinois, also United States Senator, is of the same Drake descent as the Trumbulls named in the lists.

"Gov. Roger Wolcott, Mrs. Griswold's father (I. 1), was Major-General in command of the Connecticut troops in the expedition to Cape Breton, and in the siege and capture of Louisburg, in 1745. Judge Erastus Wolcott (II. 3) and Gov. Oliver Wolcott (I. 2), her brother, were Brigadier-Generals in the Revolution. Judge Parsons (II. 12) was Major-General in the Revolution, and was a member of the Court Martial selected by Washington for the trial of Major André.

"*Major-General John Pope*, U. S. A., son of Judge Pope (II. 23), was distinguished in the late civil war; as were many of her young descendants, one of whom, the heroic Captain John Griswold, gave his life at Antietam.

"*General James S. Wadsworth*, of Geneseo, N. Y., killed in the battle of the Wilderness, was descended from several branches of her Wolcott family. Gen. Wadsworth's sister Elizabeth married the Hon. Charles Augustus Murray, son of the Earl of Dunmore.

"Her great-great-granddaughter Eleanora Lorillard, daughter of Lorillard Spencer and of her great-granddaughter Sarah Griswold, is the wife of Prince Virginio Cenci of Vicovaro, etc., Chamberlain to the reigning King of Italy. Princess Cenci is now one of the Ladies of Honor to the Queen."

Governor Matthew Griswold and his wife both lie buried in the Duck River Burying-Ground at Lyme.

The following are their epitaphs:

"This monument is erected to the memory of Matthew Griswold Esq., late Governor of the State of Connecticut, who died on the 28th day of April in the year 1799—aged 85 years and 28 days.

"Sic transit gloria mundi."

"Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Ursula Griswold, the amiable consort of Matthew Griswold Esq., late Governor of the State of Connecticut. She departed this life on the 5th day of April, 1788, in the 64th year of her age."

Their children were:

1. JOHN (see next page).

2. *Matthew*, born April 17, 1760; graduated at Yale College in 1780; who married, September 4, 1788, Lydia, daughter of Deacon Seth Ely of Lyme; and, having settled in Lyme, died there, June 10, 1842, s. p. A letter from his father to him while in college, now lying before me, is too characteristic of the times to be left out of this record:

"Lyme, Nov. 18th 1779.

"Dear Son,

"Thro' Divine Goodness wee are all in usual health—I have herewith Sent You a Thirty Dollar bill to purchase a Ticket in the Continental Lottery in the Third Class: *I suppose they are to be had in New Haven of Deacon Austin; I wish you good Success with it. If they are not to be had in New Haven, you will Enquire & purchase one Elsewhere*—If there be no Chance to purchase one, lay up your Money, and keep it safe. —I hope you will pursue your Studies with Dilligence & Industry—But above all keep Holy the Sabbath Day & *pay all Possible Regard to Religion: a vertuous Life is the only Foundation upon which you can Depend to be Comfortable here & Happy in the Coming World*—the Joy of your Friends and a Blessing to the world.

"From your affectionate Father

Matth^w Griswold"

"Matth^w Griswold Junr"

He learnt the science and practice of law from his father; became, in time, Chief Judge of the County Court of New London; and some of the men of later times most eminent in the legal profession studied law under his direction, together with that of his more distinguished brother Roger, including Judge James Gould, afterwards at the head of the famous law-school of Litchfield, Conn., Chief Justice Henry Matson Waite and Judge Hungerford.

Edwin Elbridge Salisbury

THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF LONG ISLAND

Long Island, at least its central and eastern parts, has been slow to share in the general prosperity of the State at large. Its development, until late years, has been by fits and starts, never advancing much at a time. The natural advantages of Long Island—fine climate, picturesque scenery, and a fertile and varied soil—for a long while were not appreciated by the people as means to an end. While other parts of the State became active and prosperous, Long Island stood still. Its inhabitants lived in the same quiet way as their ancestors, caring little for any change or closer union with the outside world.

The story of the settlement and early government of Long Island, particularly of Suffolk County, is a curious one. A succession of political events took place in the latter half of the 17th century, far-reaching in their effects upon the future of Long Island. These events, with other circumstances, gave rise to certain characteristics in the people, namely, an indifference to the rest of the colony, a disposition to live to themselves, and a lack of energy in furthering their own interests. To a considerable extent, these traits were handed down to their descendants. But the present generation are shaking off the mental peculiarities of the old Long Islanders, sensible of what they ought to do to promote the general welfare, and of the right steps to be taken.

It cannot be certainly said who discovered Long Island. Cabot and Verrazano, in their voyages along the eastern coast of North America, may have seen it; it is known that Hudson landed on Coney Island. But it was a *terra incognita* until Adriaen Block, in a little craft called the *Restless*, built at New Amsterdam, sailed along its whole length in 1614, and found that it really was an island. The Dutch West India Trading Company, under whose control New Netherland was placed by the States General, soon afterward published a map on which the position and size of Long Island seem to have been accurately determined. Its present and prospective value quickly became known, and settlements were made on its western end. A Dutch traveler, in 1640, speaks of Long Island as the "Crown of the Netherlands." The settlements stretched as far east as Oyster Bay, in what was later called by the English Queens County, and these were chiefly English communities. To the eastward were also several, the first of which was established on Gardi-

ner's Island, in 1639, by Lion Gardiner, who was indeed the first English settler within the bounds of what is now New York State.

Charles I granted the whole of Long Island to the Earl of Stirling; and this grant was confirmed by the Plymouth Company, which claimed under a patent from James I all the land between 40° and 48° north latitude, and from "sea to sea." Lord Stirling, in 1639, granted that part of the island lying easterly of the Peconic river to, Edward Howell, Daniel How, and Job Sayer, in trust for themselves and associates. Lord Stirling's heir surrendered the grant of Long Island, and it was afterward included in the patent of the Duke of York, in 1664. For several years after the abandonment of the grant, no power claimed eastern Long Island. The New Englanders had made settlements at Southold, East Hampton, and South Hampton, and other places, which were independent, and had undisputed control over their own affairs. The English pushed themselves close up to the Dutch on the west, and, as a matter of course, there were bitter disputes between the people of the border settlements. East Hampton, South Hampton, Brook Haven, and Huntington soon applied to be annexed to the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, afterward known as Connecticut; and they were annexed, or, rather, taken under their protection.

The charter which Charles II. gave to the Connecticut colony, was a liberal one; and this was due, chiefly, to the personal efforts and influence of John Winthrop, whose father had been of great service to Charles I. Under a clause in the charter, taking in "the islands adjacent," Connecticut claimed Long Island. The towns at the east were willing enough to become a part of a political body in which the people had a voice in the making of the laws and election of rulers. Each was given a deputy in the Colonial Assembly and each paid its share of taxes for the general expenses of the colony. Even the inhabitants of Oyster Bay, who had been neutral in the quarrels of the Dutch and English, voluntarily put themselves under the control of Connecticut.

Under this government, the people were living in 1664, when the expedition fitted out by the Duke of York snatched New Netherland from the Dutch. It is hard to find an excuse for this taking of territory from those who had held undisputed possession of it for half a century. The two nations were at peace, and the conquest was simply an exhibition of brute force—a practical demonstration of the proposition that might makes right. When New Amsterdam was given up, the question of the boundary lines between New York and Connecticut arose. Long negotiations ensued, and it was finally agreed by the representatives of the two col-

onies that New York should have the whole of Long Island, Connecticut taking in exchange for that part over which it had jurisdiction, a strip of territory which brought its boundary line about twenty miles from the Hudson River. Naturally the Long Islanders were not consulted. They remonstrated, but too late, and in vain. Connecticut gained by the bargain, but the people of Long Island lost that which had made them what they were and which promised for them a bright future. Instead of members of a free government, they became subjects of a despot. The Duke of York was arbitrary and dissolute. Nominally a Protestant, he was at heart a bigoted Romanist. With such a ruler the result could not have been other than it was. Connecticut grew and prospered; settlers came to it in numbers, but the progress of Long Island was at once stayed. No one would leave the main-shore of New England, where there was freedom of action and speech, to live under and obey laws such as a man like the Duke of York saw fit to make. The people of the settlements felt that they had been wronged and cheated out of their liberties. Charges of fraud were brought against the Commissioners who fixed the dividing line between the colony and province. A century later Smith, the historian, said that the settlement of the boundary was made in ignorance and fraud.

It requires no great stretch of imagination to picture what Long Island would have been had it remained in the Connecticut government. Thriving settlements would have sprung up everywhere, to become in the course of time populous and active towns; the abundant supply of water would have been sure to develop manufactures; and, in a word, it would have been a second New England, with all the prosperity and energy for which the name stands.

At the retaking of New Netherland, all the towns on Long Island submitted to the Dutch except East Hampton, South Hampton, and Southold, which asked aid from Connecticut to beat off a Dutch force sent against them. The colony actually declared war against the Dutch; but news of the treaty of peace came before hostilities began and Long Island was restored to the English. These three towns still determined to become again, if possible, a part of Connecticut. A petition, asking that they be allowed to join the colony, was sent to the king, but, as might have been supposed, it was denied. On the arrival of Governor Andros, the deputies of the towns, John Mulford of East Hampton, John Howell of South Hampton, and John Youngs of Southold, signed a memorial declaring the settlements to be under the government of Connecticut, and that they would remain so. The deputies were summoned before the

council, but it does not appear that they were punished for their so-called rebellion.

Under all of the Duke of York's governors the Long Islanders had to suffer much. The laws were oppressive, and they were heavily taxed for the benefit of the rest of the province. Governor Lovelace, in a letter to a friend, wrote that he "thought to keep them in submission by imposing such taxes on them as may not give them liberty to entertain any other thoughts." At the restoration of the English the harsh and arbitrary rule of Governor Andros revived with full force the complaints of the people, who began to hate equally the man and the office. The Duke of York saw that he must do something to take away the great discontent and give the inhabitants the representation they demanded. In 1683, he instructed Governor Dongan to call a general assembly of the province, and it met on the 17th of October in the same year. It declared, among other things, that the supreme authority under the duke should thereafter be in a governor, council, and the people represented in general assembly; and some of the more obnoxious laws were repealed. The three "ridings" on Long Island were done away with, and the counties of Kings, Queens and Suffolk organized. The assembly met again in 1684 and 1685, and then not until the arrival of Governor Sloughter, in 1691, though Leisler called one during his usurpation. It is probable that the Duke of York, on becoming James II., determined to govern the province according to his own will, and so ordered Governor Dongan not to call any more assemblies of the people.

The fact that most of the Long Islanders were Dissenters added to their troubles. The Church of England seized the opportunity to pay off some of their old scores against the Puritans by humiliating them in every possible way.

Treated with indifference and contempt, their rights and welfare disregarded, the people of Long Island keenly felt their situation. The older settlers sadly contrasted the present with the past, and the burdens and wrongs now put upon them, with the privileges they had enjoyed as members of a free government, while the younger men saw but little hope of happiness and prosperity for the future. Nursing and brooding over their just grievances, they became isolated and interested in nothing which related to the rest of the province; moreover, they lost much of the natural ambition which had spurred them on to success in their undertakings. Governor Dongan wrote to England of them that they were of an unfriendly disposition—"of the same stamp as the New Englanders, refractory and loth to have any communication with this place (New York)."

The large uninhabited districts on Long Island being crown lands had been granted by the governors to individuals who could not till them; nor would the settlers become their tenants, for they had known in their old homes across the sea the oppression of landlords. Speaking of the province, including Long Island, Cadwallader Colden, at one time surveyor-general, said that "these grants had been most injurious to the country." These estates, for several generations, descended from father to son, but as the land became more valuable and there were those who would cultivate it, they were in several instances divided and sold.

Whatever else happened, the early settlers of eastern Long Island never lost their love for liberty and hatred for oppression; they bequeathed them to their children and grandchildren. While at the time of the Revolution, the people on the west end of the island were generally Tories, the inhabitants of Suffolk county, almost to a man, were patriots who gave their lives and their money to aid in the overthrow of what seemed to them the greatest of tyrannies. That they fought and died in support of their sentiment, and that when the nation was born, they, as much as any others, helped to tide it over the years of its infancy and start it safely on the path to future greatness, are facts of history known to all.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Cadwallader Colden". The signature is written in dark ink and features a large, looping initial 'C' and a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

BRISOT DE WARVILLE

HIS NOTES ON AMERICA IN 1788

The unique frontispiece of the Magazine for this month, the portrait in antique setting of the spirited young Frenchman who drew a pen picture of our country nearly a century ago, possesses a fresh charm at the present period in our national history. He landed at Boston on a July day in 1788, having crossed the ocean with the avowed object of examining the effects of liberty on the character of man. He was at heart a reformer, had already been instrumental in establishing an institution in France for the abolition of the slave trade, and entered upon his studies of our forming society with the vigor of an enthusiast. He was young, only thirty-four, handsome, and captivating. He brought numerous letters of introduction to eminent Americans, by whom he was cordially welcomed. Lafayette wrote to Washington pronouncing him "clever, intelligent, and discreet," and said it was his intention to embody the result of his observations and researches in a history of America.

Looking through his eyes, we, of this generation, find the Boston of 1788 almost as interesting as the Boston of 1884. His first impressions of it were recorded in the following terse language: "With what pleasure did I contemplate this town which first shook off the English yoke! How I delighted to wander up and down that long street, whose simple houses of wood border the magnificent channel of Boston, and whose full stores offer me all the productions of the continent I have quitted! How I enjoyed the activity of the merchants, the artisans, and the sailors!"

Then, after a comfortable night's rest and opportunity to explore the city more in detail, he added: "Everything is rapid, everything great, everything durable with her. Boston is just rising from the devastation of war, and her commerce is flourishing, as also her manufactures, productions, arts and sciences. * * * You no longer meet here that Presbyterian austerity which interdicted all pleasures, even that of walking, which forbade traveling on Sunday, which persecuted men whose opinions were different from their own. Music which their teachers formally proscribed as a diabolic art, begins to make part of their education. In some houses you hear the porte-piano. God grant that the Bostonian women may never, like those of France, acquire the melody of perfection in this art! It is never attained, but at the expense of the domestic virtues."

But, however much our traveler disapproved of musical women, he was evidently well pleased with educated men. He wrote: "Boston has the glory of having given the first College or University to the New World. It is placed on an extensive plain, four miles from Boston, at a place called Cambridge; the origin of this useful institution was in 1636. The imagination could not fix on a place that could better unite all the conditions essential to a seat of education. The regulation of the course of studies here is nearly the same as that at the University of Oxford. The library and the cabinet of philosophy do honor to the institution. The first contains 13,000 volumes. The Bostonians have no brilliant monuments, but they have neat and commodious churches, good houses, superb bridges, and excellent ships. Their streets are well illuminated at night, while many ancient cities of Europe, containing proud monuments of art, have never yet thought of preventing the fatal effects of nocturnal darkness. The greatest monuments of industry are the three bridges of Charles, Malden, and Essex. An employment which is, unhappily, one of the most lucrative in the State is the profession of the law. They preserve still the expensive forms of the English practice, which good sense and the love of order ought to teach them to suppress. They have likewise borrowed from their fathers, the English, the habit of demanding exorbitant fees. But notwithstanding the abuses of law proceedings, they complain very little of the lawyers. Those with whom I am acquainted appear to enjoy great reputation for integrity; such as Sumner, Wendell, Lowell, and Sullivan. They had great part in the Revolution, by their writings, by their discourses, by taking the lead in the affairs of Congress, and in foreign negotiation. To recall this memorable period is to bring to mind one of the greatest ornaments of the American Bar, the celebrated Adams, who, from the humble station of a school-master, has raised himself to the first dignities; whose name is as much respected in Europe as in his own country, for the difficult embassies with which he has been charged. Simplicity characterizes almost all the men of this State who have acted distinguished parts in the Revolution; such among others as Samuel Adams and Mr. Hancock, the present governor. A great generosity united to a vast ambition, forms the character of the former. He will have no capitulation with abuses; he fears as much the despotism of virtue and talents, as the despotism of vice. He is an idolater of Republicanism. Mr. Hancock is amiable and polite when he wishes to be; but they say he does not always choose it. He has not the learning of his rival, Mr. Bowdoin; he seems to disdain the sciences. But he is beloved by the people. When I compare our legislators, with their airs of import-

ance, always fearing they shall not make noise enough, that they shall not be sufficiently praised, to those modest republicans, I fear for the success of our Revolution. The vain man can never be far from slavery."

It would be delightful and profitable, if space permitted, to make the entire tour of America with the French author. When he reached New Rochelle, he wrote:—"This place will always be celebrated for having given birth to one of the most distinguished men of the last Revolution—a Republican remarkable for his firmness and his coolness, a writer eminent for his nervous style, and his close logic, Mr. John Jay, present minister of Foreign Affairs. The following anecdote will give an idea of the firmness of this Republican: At the time of laying the foundation of the peace of 1783, M. de Vergennes, actuated by secret motives, wished to engage the ambassadors of Congress to confine their demands to the fisheries, and to renounce the western territory; that is, the vast and fertile country beyond the Alegany Mountains. This minister (Vergennes) required particularly that the independence of America should not be considered as the basis of the peace: but simply that it should be conditional. To succeed in this project it was necessary to gain over Jay and Adams. Mr. Jay declared to M. de Vergennes that he would sooner lose his life than sign such a treaty; that the Americans sought for independence; that they would never lay down their arms till it should be fully consecrated; that the court of France had recognized it, and that there would be a contradiction in her conduct if she should deviate from that point. It was not difficult for Mr. Jay to bring Mr. Adams to this determination; and M. de Vergennes could never shake his firmness. Consider here the strange concurrence of events. The American who forced the Court of France, and gave laws to the English minister, was the grandson of a French refugee of the last century who fled to New Rochelle. Thus the descendant of a man whom Louis XIV. had persecuted with a foolish rage, imposed his decisions on the descendant of that sovereign, in his own palace, a hundred years after the banishment of the ancestor. Mr. Jay was equally immovable by all the efforts of the English minister, whom M. de Vergennes had gained to his party. And his reasoning determined the Court of St. James. * * * When Mr. Jay passed through England to return to America, Lord Shelburne desired to see him. Accused by the nation of having granted too much to the Americans, the English Statesman desired to know, in case he had persisted not to accord to the Americans the western territory, if they would have continued the war? Mr. Jay answered that he believed it and that he should have advised it."

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY EDWARD F. DELANCEY

(Continued from page 167, Vol. XI.)

8th June 1781.

Ebenezer Hathaway, who has been for some time a prisoner in Cimberrry Mines,* says that one Nathaniel Ruggles who lives at Setalket sends over intelligence once every fortnight by Brewster † who comes from Connecticut and lands at the Old Man's. Ruggles comes to New York frequently. One Clarke, who used to trade to Long Island and who has frequently come over with Brewster told him this. Clarke is now a prisoner in the mines.—

Hathaway ‡ landed at Oyster Ponds and on his way to this place met Major

* Simsbury Mines. See note to Ebenezer Hathaway—*post*.

† Capt. Caleb Brewster, a secret agent of Washington, referred to in the cypher letter from Connecticut, *ante*, Feb. 4, 1781. "Nathaniel Ruggles" of "Setalket" above mentioned, was one of Col. Talmadge's agents to get secret intelligence from New York for the American Commander-in-chief. "Old Man's," where Brewster usually landed to meet Talmadge's agents, later known as Woodville, and now called by the strange old testament name "Mt. Sinai," is on the north shore of Long Island, about three miles east of "Setauket," as that place is now spelled. Clarke was one of the many Connecticut and Long Island people, whose only idea was to make money from both sides.

‡ "Ebenezer Hathaway" was the captain of the privateer *Adventure*, captured on the 7th of April, 1781, who, with his crew, was imprisoned in the terrible subterranean prison of Connecticut, "Cimberrry," meaning "Simsbury" Mines, or "Newgate of Connecticut," as it was often styled. In the Political Magazine, vol. 2, p. 444, is the following account of his capture, the prison, and his escape therefrom, dated two days prior to the information here given by him. "*New York, June 8*. This day arrived here Ebenezer Hathaway and Thomas Smith, who on the 18th of May last made their escape from Simsbury Mines after a most gallant struggle for their liberty. These men declare that they were two of eight belonging to the privateer boat *Adventure* duly commissioned, &c.; that they were taken in Huntington Bay off Long Island on the 7th of April, by seven rebel whaleboats manned by 73 men, and that night carried across the Sound to Stamford in Connecticut; that the next day they were carried to what they called headquarters before General Waterbury, who with the air of a demagogue ordered them to Hartford gaol, and told the guard they had liberty to strip them of their cloaths remaining on their backs, but the captors had already stripped them; there they lay on the 27th following, when their trial came on before the Superior Court; that they were brought before the court and directed to plead not guilty; but aware of their knavish tricks, they declared themselves British subjects, and refused to plead either 'guilty' or 'not guilty'; therefore they were ordered to Newgate gaol, or rather to that inquisition Simsbury Mines, and now from the following description, exceeds anything among their allies in

Talmadge and another officer belonging to the rebels at South-hold—he stop'd at a publick house there and was told by a widow woman who keeps it, that Tal-

France or Spain. These poor unfortunate victims relate that they were taken from Hartford gaol, and marched under a strong guard to Simsbury, distant about 74 miles. In approaching that horrid dungeon they were first conducted through the apartments of the guard, then through a trap-door down stairs into a room half underground, from thence into another on the same floor called the kitchen, which was divided by a very strong partition door. In the corner of this outer room and near the foot of the stair, opened another large trap-door covered with bars and bolts of iron, which they called Hell; they there descended by means of a ladder about six feet more, which led to a large iron grate or hatchway locked down over a shaft of about three feet diameter sunk through the solid rock, and which they were told led to the bottomless pit. Finding it not possible to evade this hard fate, they bid adieu to the world and descended the ladder about 38 feet more, when they came to what is called the landing; then descending about 30 or 40 feet more they came to a platform of boards laid under foot. Here, say they, we found the inhabitants of this woeful mansion, who were exceedingly anxious to know what was going on above. We told them Lord Cornwallis had beat the rebel army, with which they seemed satisfied, and rejoiced at the good news. They were obliged to make use of pots of charcoal to dispel the foul air, which in some degree is drawn off by a ventilator or auger hole, which is bored from the surface through at this spot, said to be 70 feet perpendicular. Here they continued 20 days and nights, resolved however to avail themselves of the first opportunity to get out, although they should lose their lives in the attempt. Accordingly on the 18th aforesaid, 18 of them being let up into the kitchen to cook, they found means to break the lock of the door which kept them from the foot of the ladder leading up to the guard room; they now doubly resolved to make a push should the door be opened, which fortunately was the case about ten o'clock at night to let down a prisoner's wife who had come there and was permitted to see him. Immediately they seized the fortunate moment and rushed up, but before any one had got out the door was closed down on the rest, and he the brave Captain Hathaway scuffled with the whole of them for a few minutes and was wounded in three different places, when he was nobly seconded by his friend Thomas Smith, and afterward by the others. They then advanced upon the guard consisting of 24 in number and took the whole prisoners, which was no sooner accomplished than they brought their companions out of the bottomless pit and put the guard down in their room; then marched off with their arms and ammunition but were soon afterwards obliged to disperse. This we the subscribers declare to be the way the King's loyal subjects, vulgarly called Tories, are treated in Connecticut.

EBENEZER HATHAWAY,
THOMAS SMITH."

Noah A. Phelps, in his *History of Simsbury*, p. 143, thus tells the story: "On the 18th of May, 1781, the prisoners, amounting to twenty-eight persons, most of whom were tories, rose upon the guard, seized their arms, and made good their escape, carrying the captured arms with them. * * * About ten o'clock at night when all the guard but two had retired to rest a wife of one of the prisoners appeared, to whom permission was given to visit her husband in the caverns. Upon the hatches being opened, the prisoners, who were at the door prepared for the encounter, rushed up, seized the guns of the sentry on duty, who made little or no resistance, and became masters of the guard room before those who were asleep could be aroused and prepared to make defence. One brave fellow by name of Sheldon, who was an officer of the guard, fought valiantly, and was killed upon the spot, having been pierced by a bayonet through his body. * * * The guard was easily overcome. A few sought safety in flight but the greater number were disarmed by the prisoners and locked up in the caverns. The prisoners having equipped themselves with the capt-

madge came over to purchase clothing for the rebel army. Three waggons had sett off that morning for Brooklyn to carry down goods for Talmadge,* and the day before three boats loaded had been sent over to Connecticut.

There is a man whose name is Johnson, who passes for a Refugee and lives at Lloyd's Neck. He is employed by Congress to get intelligence. A Captain Fitch who commands all the rebel whale boats sends over to Johnston and receives the intelligence required.†

The informant says the day he was taken by seven rebel whale-boats, one boat went ashore at a place called the Ships Garden and received intelligence from some person who met them. He supposed it to be Johnson.

A M^{rs} Sacket ‡ whose husband is now in the Mines, told the informant that Capt^a Fitch told her that he could have any intelligence he wanted from Johnson—That some time ago one Baldwin who was sent out from there on private business was taken up on suspicion of being a Spy and that the rebels sent over to Johnson to know whether he was so or not.—That Johnson said that he had been

ured arms, escaped, and with few exceptions had the adroitness or good luck to avoid a recapture."

The following extract from the report of a Legislative committee of investigation, explains the success: "Abigail the wife of John Young, alias Mattick, says that the first night she came to the prison, she gave to her husband 52 *silver dollars*. Her husband told her after he came out that he had given Sergt. Lilly 50 of them in order that he may suffer the prisoners to escape. That he told her the Sergt. purposely left the door of the south jail unlocked, that Sergt. Lilly was not hurt,—that she borrowed the money of a pedlar,—that she heard Lilly say it was a great pity that such likely men should live and die in such a place." Cited in Rich. H. Phelps's "Newgate of Connecticut," p. 11. The same writer says: "Most of those confined were persons of character, property, and great influence, they being the ones to do harm, rather than those who were mere weathercocks in principle, and vacillating in practice. Their first keeper was Capt. John Viets who resided near by and who supplied them daily with food and necessaries which were required." *Ib.*, 7. This John Viets, strange to say, was the maternal grandfather of the late Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, Bishop of the former "Eastern Diocese," and father of the Rev. Roger Viets, the Church of England Rector of Simsbury church, who at the close of the war went to Nova Scotia, and died Rector of Digby in that province in 1811.

Simsbury Mines were copper mines, first worked in the reign of Queen Anne in 1707, and subsequently down to 1773 by various parties, associations, and companies. In that year Connecticut bought a lease of them, and converted them into its State prison for malefactors of all sorts. When the Revolution occurred the State authorities directed that courts and courts martial should imprison those there with the criminals, which continued till the end of the war. A most cruel outrage, but illustrative of the savageness of civil war. It is believed that this was the only instance, on either side, of crime and opinion being considered synonymous, and punished alike.

* From Brooklyn to Setauket, or "Old Man's," whence they were sent over the Sound to Talmadge.

† "Capt. Fitch" was John Fitch, a Connecticut man, commissioned by Gov. Trumbull, long engaged in the whaleboat plunder and intelligence business—bold, brave, and very successful. Johnson was one of Col. Talmadge's conduits of information.

‡ "Mrs. Sacket" was the wife of Capt. Peter Sackett, one of the prisoners who escaped from the Simsbury mines on the 18th of May.

employed for that purpose, upon which Baldwin was immediately sent to the mines, where the informant saw him and heard the above from himself also—M^r Sackett is daughter to Colo^l Palmer who lives with Gen^l Waterbury at Stamford. She is intimately acquainted with Fitch and has often heard him speak of Johnson.

June 8th 1781.

Lieu^t Col: Hill of the 9th Regiment * says he saw the Pennsylvania troops at Fredericksburg about ten days ago,† that they amounted to about 800 men.—They seemed much dissatisfied and tho they were well armed, they were not trusted with any ammunition.‡ He saw Gen^l Wayne with them.—On their march they tailed above twenty miles and many of them deserted.

The militia of Virginia were very averse to turning out and most of the young men had retired to the mountains. Some had even resisted with arms those who attempted to force them.§

N: B: Copies of the above were sent to Lord Cornwallis. &c. &c.

Captain Beckwith to Major De Lancey 14th June, 1781.

Dear Sir

You have probably been informed by Colonel Robinson that some people sent out on the East side of the Hudson's River, were returned. I have now seen four of them and they uniformly agree that no movement has taken place from West Point or New Windsor. With all possible deference to my friend Marquard, I must therefore still be of opinion, that he has got to the wrong side of the River.

Yours &c (signed)

G. Beckwith.

13th June 1781.

M^r Robert Gilmore || left Point Judith, Rhode Island, last Wednesday morning,

* The same who led that regiment against Port Anne in Burgoyne's campaign, was sent to Virginia with the other "Convention troops," and was now on his return to New York.

† On their way to join Lafayette, having marched on the 26th May from York, Pa., the day after Wayne had so promptly and severely quelled their mutiny. They were not able to join Lafayette till June 7th on the north side of the Rapidan, near Raccoon Ford.

‡ This shows Wayne's great good sense and caution.

§ Lafayette confirms this, in his letter of 24th May to Washington, saying, "Government in this State has no energy and laws have no force." III. Sparks's Corr., 322; and Col. Henry Lee, describing Virginia of this time, says, "the great body of the inhabitants below the mountains, flying from their homes with their wives, their children, and the most valuable of their personal property, to seek protection in the mountains. The State authorities, executive and legislative, like the flying inhabitants, driven from the seat of government, chased from Charlottesville; and at length interposing the Blue Ridge between themselves and the enemy to secure a resting place at Stanton." *Memoirs*, vol. II., p. 232.

|| Probably Robert Gilmour of New Hampshire, a loyalist who was attainted, banished, and

came in a boat to Block Island, from thence to Montauk Point. He saw the French fleet the day before he left,—twelve sail including Frigates—seven of the line, besides the *Fantasque*. He saw them the Thursday following from Block Island. He does not think there was any alteration that day. The whole of the troops were about three thousand from the best accounts. Col S—s and Mr Stephen Hassard told him the evening he came away that ten men out of each company had embarked on board ship and were ready to sail. The rest of the French troops were to march the same day to Washington's Headquarters. They were particularly industrious in fixing flying booms and other tackling to gain a superiority in sailing to the British fleet. There is not a single piece of cannon left on the batteries of Rose Island, the Dumplings, Brenton's Point, and North Battery. Part of them were embarked in the fleet that sailed some time ago. The rest are now embarked in the fleet intended to sail. Five hundred militia are to take the duties of the Island. He does not know who commands them. Col: Potter of Little — (unintelligible) was to assemble them.

He had from undoubted authority that a 50 gun ship, two frigates and a fleet of transports with clothing, money and every kind of necessary stores, was daily expected from France. They are in the utmost fear lest their ships should be intercepted.

The last time Admiral Arbuthnot appeared off Rhode Island, three ships were going out to reconnoitre and gain intelligence, but on his appearance were prevented. It is imagined the French fleet is certainly going out with intent of meeting and convoying the ships expected into the harbour. It is certain, that the evacuation of the Island is determined on. It is currently reported, that Washington, with his and the French army, intends coming down to the neighborhood of White Plains, &c. &c. A Mr. Goldsbury,* who was employed by the admiral to get intelligence from Rhode Island, and was ordered to meet him at Martha's Vineyard is gone there with this information expecting to meet his excellency.

N: B: The above was sent to Commodore Affleck † with the following letter, dated Head Qr^s 14th June. 1781.

"Sir. I have the honor to inclose you the deposition of the bearer Mr Robert Gilmour. The Commander in Chief submits it to you, Sir, whether he should not be sent to Admiral Arbuthnot. I have the honor to be

Yours
(Signed) Ol. De Lancey."

Commodore Affleck, &c. &c."

his estate confiscated, under an act of that State passed in 1778. Sabine, 1st ed., 324. The route via Block Island and Long Island to New York was used more or less during the war by New England people.

* Samuel Goldsbury of Wrentham, Massachusetts, who was proscribed and banished in 1778, Sabine, 1st ed., 328, is believed to be the person here mentioned.

† Edmund Affleck of Colchester, Essex, a commodore in the navy, at this time in command of the Bedford 74. He was made a baronet, for his gallantry in leading the center division of Sir

17th June. 1781.*Copy of a letter from M^r. W—n of Newark.*

Sir

I wrote to you last Sunday inclosing you the latest papers from Philadelphia and a private letter from a friend of mine there giving an account of an action between Green and Lord Rawdon. The person was taken and the packet sunk in the creek as Captain Johnson will inform.

Having had no expectation of being called on in this way I was, and still am no way prepared to answer your queries. I shall never presume to obtrude anything on you without having examined it myself or having it from others on whose veracity I can depend. I shall therefore carefully distinguish what I know, or have seen : what I think by good information, what by report or flying stories. As Captain Johnson is responsible for my fidelity I expect that no exception will be taken at any part of my behavior, nor enquiry made about my conduct to any person but himself. If he explains what I have enjoined, my reasons are sufficient. To him I leave the matter of conveyance for I shall not leave myself at any other person's mercy. The danger I have already escaped has redoubled that caution in me, which is necessary in every affair of this kind. I do not know at present nor have I any reason to suppose I can ever render any material service. Like every other chance of War it will depend upon the opportunity I have. I can promise nothing more but fidelity and industry. These shall not be wanting. The reward may therefore be in proportion to the trouble or the good fortune I may have of being serviceable.

Answers to Queries sent out to him by Major De Lancey.

1st—I am totally unacquainted with the state of the Jersey brigade any further than common report, 200 with the Marquis *—300 at the huts near Morristown. Recruits to the number of 60 have lately joined them. I had not time to enquire this week or could have come nigh[er] the mark.

2nd—The hopes for next campaign I know nothing of at present any further than public report.

3rd—Reinforcement to the French—nothing more than report—expected by some—doubted of by others.

4th—The Jersey troops are to all appearances satisfied, nor is there the least symptom of revolt among them. The jealousy of such an event by the officers, must render it unsuccessful if it is attempted.

5th—Col: Dayton lives at Chatham with his family and pays occasional visits to camp—Col: Dehart commands in his absence.

George Rodney's fleet in the great battle of the 12th April, 1782, in which Rodney defeated the French fleet under de Grasse with the French army on board, and captured him and his flag ship.

* With Lafayette in Virginia.

6th—I know of no reason to conclude the militia would not turn out as usual. The affair of the Back Shad, as they are called, and the inhabitants of Newark is purely personal.* If an attempt was made in this quarter it is more likely they would vie with each other in repulsing the attack, than that anything would favour it, by their disunion. I must beg excuses for the freedom of my opinion in this matter. 'Tis very probable it differs from others.

7th—Inclosed is the list of the Governor, Council and members of Assembly. The Governor, Council and members are at Princeton.

8th—It is impossible without a great deal of trouble to get any account of the State Regiment. Numbers of the officers have refused to serve—others who have accepted cannot find their Quota. They are (particularly those at Newark) in a state of revolt. I mean without any discipline and no opposition may be expected from them more than the common militia.†

9th—I know of no persons in the city who send intelligence. It is generally supposed the traders play a double game but it would be unjust in me to point out any person in particular having nothing more than my own suspicions to offer.

Captain Johnson will apologize for me as I have wrote in a hurry. The strictest attention shall be paid to your future instructions. I think it would be proper for

* This "Back Shad" and "inhabitants of Newark" difficulty, occurred at the end of May, 1781. It is thus described in Rivington's paper of 2d June: "We learn from Newark, in New Jersey, that a few days since, a number of persons who live near the mountains and from their wickedness and poverty have properly acquired the appellation of the Back Shad, in consequence of a resolution of the pious Reverend Commissary Caldwell and his associates who were lately convened at Chatham, repaired to the learned and renowned Justice Campbell, and there, according to a late law made by the humane William Livingston, swore that a number of the inhabitants of the township of Newark were dangerous to the liberties of the State and ought to be removed back into the country, whereon this great magistrate issued his warrant for their removal, and gave them till this day to prepare for their departure. This will probably create some disturbance, as our informant tells us that the obnoxious inhabitants refuse to go unless compelled by force." Reprinted also in *Moore's Diary*, Vol. II., p. 434. The term "Back Shad" is derived from the thin, weak, and poor condition of shad when going back to the sea after spawning in April and May. At present "June Shad" is used. "As poor as a June Shad," is by no means an uncommon expression in the river regions of New Jersey and New York now, as a term of description. These "Back Shad" of 1781 seem to have been whigs, and the "inhabitants of Newark" tories, and their difficulty a sort of Jersey faction fight, and not a military one.

† Eight days after the date of the entry of this letter from "Mr W——n of Newark," the Legislature of New Jersey, finding the bounty of "one thousand dollars exclusive of the Continental bounty and emoluments" to the recruit, and "two hundred dollars premium" to the officer procuring him, authorized by it on the 11th March, 1780, totally inadequate to get the men, on the 25th June, 1781, had to adopt still more effectual means of completing the quota, and then appointed a recruiting officer for each county, and authorized a bounty of *twelve pounds in gold or silver to be paid to each recruit, a shilling a day in specie till he was mustered in, and thirty shillings in coin to the recruiting officer for every man able to pass muster.* *Stryker's N. Jersey Register*, 46–7–8. It was to these difficulties in obtaining "volunteers" for the war that the above 8th answer refers.

you to send me a Cypher not that I mean to use it only in cases where it is absolutely necessary

Y^{rs} with great respect—&c.

Major D.

*Hiram to Major DeLancey.
New York, Sunday 17th June, 1781.*

Sir.

Being somewhat recovered from the fatiguing riding last night till 12 o'clock, I sit down to give you the heads only (to avoid prolixity) of such matters as have fallen within my observation since I had the pleasure of seeing you last.

Soon after my return home, I prepared dispatches for you and left them at the appointed place, and I find they are taken away, but whether by Bulkley, or any other person, I know not. They contained amongst other matters an account of the intended route of the French troops, the place of their destination and the ground on which they were to encamp. Likewise an account of the state of West Point and its dependencies: This early notice I had from G——l P:——s, who had it from the French officers who had been viewing the place of encampment. A few days afterwards (i. e.) the 8th ult: I set out for Hartford where I attended the Assembly, and left it the week before last, in order to give you the earliest account of those matters, which deserve attention. Letters of G——l Washington of the 10th and 12th ult: addressed to the Governor and Assembly, were laid before the house on the 14th* same month, setting forth the deplorable state of the troops at West Point and its dependencies, for want of Provisions; subsisting several days on half allowance, and at last reduced to a quarter allowance. The daily issues to the army and its followers, were 8000 Rations. Gen^l Heath, who brought the dispatches, and was sent to the Eastern States in order to urge them to a sense of their danger, declared before the Assembly, the Garrison at West Point must inevitably fall. At that critical moment, Sir, I found myself in need of a Confidential friend out of doors who could be improved for the purpose of conveying hither this state of facts; but it being early in the session, I dare not leave my Post. The Assembly ordered a scanty supply of Provisions immediately and I believe they have but a bare supply from day to day ever since.†

* 14th of May.

† Washington's letter to Meshech Weare, President of New Hampshire, which he sent as a circular to the New England governors and legislatures by Gen. Heath, was written on the 10th of May at New Windsor, and is in VIII. Sparks, 36. Heron in this report makes a very good resumé of it. Washington wrote generally, and referred the recipients to Gen. Heath for particulars, as a matter of caution. Heron here gives us some of the details stated by Heath verbally. "I am sending General Heath purposely to the eastern States to represent our distresses, and to endeavour to fix a plan for our regular supply in future. I refer you to him for particulars which I do not choose to trust to paper," wrote Washington to Lincoln on the 11th of May. VIII. Sparks, 39. It is most interesting to read the above report of the reception of Washington's despatches by the

You doubtless know that Washington and the French officers from Newport hold a Convention at Wethersfield on the 19th ult.* for the purpose of settling the plan of operations for the ensuing Campaign. On the 24th when the Convention † arose, we had a long letter from Gen^l Washington read in the House, containing the result of their deliberations at Wethersfield, the substance of which is this :— The French troops he says are to march from Newport to Hudson's River as soon as circumstances will admit (meaning the article of forrage; Land Carriage, &c.) and begs that the French agent may be assisted in making the necessary preparations for their accommodation in the several towns through which they were to march. He adds that it is the opinion of the most experienced French and American officers that this is the time for availing themselves of the weakness of the enemy at New York. The constant draining of troops from that garrison to the Southern States invites us (he says) to improve the critical moment. Our allies here expect our most vigorous exertions in cooperating with them, and our allies in

Connecticut Legislature in secret session by one of its members. General Heath's own account, written the next day, the 15th, to Washington from Hartford, is in these words: "Dear General— I arrived here yesterday afternoon, found the General Assembly sitting, and presented your letter to Governor Trumbull, together with a representation, containing the spirit of my instructions. This morning I attended the Governor, Council, and the Representatives in the Council chamber, when the papers were read, and I had an opportunity to speak on them. I have the pleasure to acquaint your excellency they had that attention paid to them which their interesting importance required. A resolution was passed to send on immediately one hundred and sixty head of beef cattle, which it is supposed will amount to five thousand rations per day to the 1st of June. One thousand barrels of salted meat are also to be forwarded with the greatest despatch with a quantity of rum." After referring to a proposed future supply for the campaign, he closes thus: "Their resolutions on this head I think will equal your expectations. I shall proceed to Rhode Island to-morrow." *III. Sparks's Rev. Corr.*, 312. How completely mistaken Heath was, and how tremendously Connecticut failed to meet Washington's expectations, the General himself proves. In a letter of the 1st of July, 1781, he says: "From the 12th of May (the date of his circular above mentioned) to this day, we have received only 312 head of cattle, from New Hampshire 30, Massachusetts, 230, and *Connecticut* 52. Unless more strenuous exertions are made to feed the few troops in the field, we must not only relinquish our intended operation (the projected attack on New York City), but shall disband for want of subsistence; or which is almost equally to be lamented, the troops will be obliged to seek it for themselves where it can be found." *IV. Gordon's Hist.*, 122. This letter Sparks did not print. The above remark of Heron, "I believe they have had but a bare supply from day to day ever since," was really truer than he, perhaps, thought when he wrote it.

* The capture, by the noted St. James Moody, of the mail containing all Washington's despatches and letters of the 27th to 29th of May, containing the accounts of the interview and plan agreed upon with Rochambeau at Weathersfield on the 23^d of May, gave Sir Henry Clinton full information on this subject, about the first of June. The plans were real, but Clinton thought they were false and sent out to be intercepted, in order to deceive him, and acted accordingly. He thus laid the foundation for the clever stratagem, which Washington and Rochambeau practiced upon him, after the former in the succeeding July, finding he could not carry out his projected attack on New York, determined to throw his army into Virginia, which led to the brilliant capture of Cornwallis's army, and practically closed in glory the American Revolution.

† "Convention," as used here by Heron, means Conference.

Europe will be astonished at our supineness and inactivity should we not improve this favorable opportunity.

Therefore in order to carry our plan of operations * into complete execution it is agreed that a number not less than the quota of troops of every State from New Hampshire to New Jersey inclusive will answer any good purpose ; (the Quotas here referred to, are those which Congress apportioned to the several States for the continental establishment, the exact number of which I have formerly sent by Pa——n) and that they must be completed by the 1st day of July, independent of the militia, 1500 of which is demanded of Connecticut, and to be held in readiness to join the main army within a week after they are called for.

That every assistance must be afforded the Q^d Mas^r Gen^l in order to enable him to forward stores, &c.—That a quantity of Powder must be immediately furnished—That the raising of Volunteers must be encouraged—That if the Continental line cannot be filled up by the 1st July with three years men, peremptory detachments † from the militia must be made to serve till December next. Finally, should he not be properly supported, the consequences must prove fatal, as in that case the Enemy will overrun the Northern States—and by that means draw resources from thence to garrison New York, which will enable them to baffle all our future attempts : therefore he insists upon an explicit answer, and wishes to know what he may depend on. Should his requisitions be not complied with, he must act on the defensive only. He complains loudly of their want of energy, of their tardiness in filling up their respective quotas of troops, and of their backwardness in paying the army : they (meaning the States) being eighteen months in arrears with them.‡

The foregoing matters were taken up by the Assembly and several days spent in debate and never was an Assembly in Connecticut since the commencement of the Rebellion so embarrassed as the present, owing to their loss of public credit, the want of means to carry on the war, and the depreciation of the paper currency, this last being the source whence proceeded every public evil : Nevertheless, it was violently urged by a powerful party to emit a new bank of paper currency and to make it a tender,§ without which they thought it impossible to carry on the war ; All their prospects of loaning specie having failed. However this was overruled by a majority, and they finally passed a Vote to tax in specie, and in specific

* The projected attack on New York city.

† Drafts.

‡ This is a very full and correct abstract of Washington's despatch of the 24th May, 1781, which he also sent as a circular to all the New England States. It is given in VIII. Sparks, 51, in full. It was written at "Weathersfield 24 May 1781," and sent immediately in to the Connecticut Legislature at Hartford, three or four miles distant, so as to insure action before they could adjourn. The General's promptness was one cause, perhaps, why the Assembly was "so embarrassed." He did not even write the result of the conference to the President of Congress till the 27th, two days after his return to his "dreary headquarters at New Windsor," as he styled them in a letter to Gordon the historian on the 9th of the preceding March. VII. Sparks, 449.

§ A legal tender in payment of all debts.

articles of produce, so that paper money is totally done with. I have at home an estimate of the expenses of the current year, which is about 19,000,000 dollars in specie. This I dare not bring with me but shall forward at a more safe opportunity.* The French troops are now on their march and will reach Crumpond † (where they are to encamp) in about ten days. G——l P——s assisted me in coming here now. We concerted measures for our future conduct with regard to conveying such intelligence as may come to his knowledge, I find him disposed to go some lengths (as the phrase is) to serve you, and even going thus far is gaining a great deal. But I who am ever jealous of intriguing persons, especially in *this cause*, fearing the measures calculated to promote the interest of Government may be frustrated or thwarted by them, and myself made an instrument of fraud in a cause for the support of which I have hazarded everything, have therefore exerted all the perspicacity I am Master of, to annalize (so in the MS.) the Gentleman in Question and find he will not at present explicitly say that he will go such lengths as I could wish. I know the scruples he has to struggle with, those of education, family connections and military ideas of honor. But interest, together with the prejudices now subsisting between the army and State, rather than principle, may overcome these. Thus have I dealt with you with faithfulness and sincerity (as I think it my duty) and leave the improvement of the foregoing hints to your own superior judgment. Meantime I remain, Sir,

Y^r most Ob^t & Very H^{ble}

Serv^t W. H. †

Major De Lancey, &c.

* This was the remarkable report and estimate of "The Committee consisting of Mr. Duane, Mr. Sharpe, and Mr. Wolcott, appointed to estimate and state the amount of the debts due from the United States, with the necessary estimates for the current year, as near as can be done, in order that the same may be laid before the respective legislatures," made to, and adopted by Congress in secret session, April 18, 1781, just a month before the date of this letter of Heron. The precise amount of estimated expenses was \$19,407,457 $\frac{1}{2}$. It is the only full and complete report on the finances ever made by a committee of the Continental Congress, and fills nineteen pages of the Secret Journal (*Vol. I., pp. 189-210*). Of course Heron made his copy from the official copy transmitted to the Connecticut Legislature. It would be interesting to know the date that body received it. Their journals have never been printed in full.

† Crumpond, in the northern part of Westchester Co., N. Y. Mentioned before.

‡ As the heading of this letter of Heron shows that it was written in New York city, and as the writer states that he arrived there on horseback at midnight between Saturday the 16th and Sunday the 17th of May, and that he was assisted to come to that city by General Parsons, it is clear that he had been to the American camp, where he had visited Parsons, and with him "concerted measures" for the furnishing of secret intelligence to the British. It shows, also, great caution on both sides.

(To be Continued).

TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM WASHINGTON
TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW

FROM THE COLLECTION OF WILLIAM ALEXANDER SMITH

[These letters were written prior to the Revolution, and are of special interest. The first relates to the death of Washington's step-daughter, Martha Custis.—EDITOR.]

Washington to Colonel Burwell Bassett.

Mount Vernon, June 20th 1773

Dear Sir,

It is an easier matter to conceive, than to describe the distress of this Family: especially that of the unhappy Parent of our Dear Patsy Custis, when I inform you that yesterday removed the Sweet Innocent Girl Entered into a more happy & peaceful abode than any she has met with in the afflicted Path she hitherto has trod.

She rose from Dinner about four o'clock in better health and spirits than she appeared to have been in for some time; soon after which she was seized with one of her usual Fits, & expired in it, in less than two minutes without uttering a word, a groan, or scarce a sigh.—this Sudden, and unexpected blow, I scarce need add has almost reduced my poor Wife to the lowest ebb of Misery; which is increased by the absence of her son (whom I have just fixed at the College in New York, from whence I returned the 8th Inst) and want of the balmy consolation of her Relations: which leads me more than ever to wish she could see them, and that I was Master of Arguments powerful enough to prevail upon M^r Dandridge to make this place her entire & absolute home. I should think as she lives a lonely life (Betsey being married) it might suit her well, & be agreeable, both to herself & my Wife, to me most assuredly it would.

I do not purpose to add more at present, the end of my writing being only to inform you of this unhappy change.—

Our Sincere Affections are offered to M^r Bassett, M^r Dandridge, & all other Friends, & I am very sincerely,

Y^r Obed^t & Affect^e Hbl^e S^t

G^o Washington

*Washington to Colonel Burwell Bassett.*Mount Vernon Feb^y 12. 1774

Dear Sir,

I find there will go some matters from this country, which will make my attendance at the Assembly necessary ; this I cannot possibly do and go over the Mountains this Spring. I have therefore determined, much against my Inclination & Interest, to postpone my Trip to the Ohio till after Harvest (as I cannot well be absent from home at that Season.) As March therefore (at least the first of it) is a disagreeable Season to travel our Roads In, and as I am obliged (illegible——) to run land about the 20th of the month of March and from thence proceed into Frederick and Berkeley I hope it will be agreeable and convenient to M^{rs} Bassett and you to give us the pleasure of seeing you here after that time: the Roads and Weather will be then good ; our Fisheries will be then come on, and I think you will have more satisfaction than in an earlier visit.

The Letter herewith Inclosed for M^r Dandridge contains Black's Bond which M^r Wythe has advised me to lodge in some safe hands to be tendered to that pritty (sic) Gentleman upon his complying with the Conditions of it.—As the care of it is a thing of the utmost Importancè, I should be obliged to you (if Captⁿ Crawford should not go to M^r Dandridge's himself) to send the Letter by Abram, or some careful Person, least the Bond should get lost.

As I am very much hurried just now, by business of different kinds, and as I presume my Wife has informed M^{rs} Bassett of Jack's Marriage, and all the other little occurrances she can think of, I shall only request you to make my affect^e Compliments to her, and the rest of the Family, and believe me to be with great truth

° D^r SirY^r Obed^t & Affect^e Hbl^e Sv^tG^o Washington

NOTES.

FLAGS OF THE REVOLUTION—Ferdinand, King of the Two Sicilies, informed the American Commissioner at Paris, in October, 1778, that the ports of his kingdom were open to vessels of the United States, and asked that a description of the flag be given that they might be recognized by the authorities.

Franklin and Adams replied as follows:—"It is with pleasure that we acquaint your Excellency that the flag of the United States of America consists of thirteen stripes, alternately red, white, and blue; a small square in the upper angle, next the flag-staff, is a blue field with thirteen white stars, denoting a new constellation. Some of the States have vessels of war distinct from those of the United States; for example, the vessels of war of the State of Massachusetts Bay have sometimes a pine tree, and those of South Carolina, a rattlesnake, in the middle of the thirteen stripes. Merchant ships have often only thirteen stripes, but the flag of the United States, ordained by Congress, is the thirteen stripes and the thirteen stars above described."—MINTO

FUNERAL EXPENSES IN THE OLDEN TIME (XI. 175)—I have several bills (as above) which apply, however, as much to the "feast" as to the church and grave, and which illustrate the custom in Baltimore town at the date given. These bills were charged to the estate of Moses Alexander, and the first reads as follows (faithfully copied):

"Mr. Dann Alexander, Dr.

BY SUNDRIES GOT FOR HIS FATHER'S FUNERAL.

Nov. 13, 1762.

	£.	s.	d.
To 4 pair of Men's Gloves, @ 3s....	0	12	0
To do. " of Women's " @ 3s....	0	12	0

	£.	s.	d.
To 8 lbs. of sugar @ 7d.....	0	4	8
To 8 yds. of Hatt Creap, @ 2s. 6d....	1	0	0
To 2 lbs. of Loaff Sugar, @ 1s. 5d....	0	2	10
To 15 yds. of Riben, @ 1s. 3d.....	0	17	6
To 3 Hankerchiefs, @ 5s.....	0	15	0
To 4 Gills. Rum, @ 5s.....	1	0	0
To ½ lb. of Allspise, @ 2s.....	0	1	0

£5 5 0

Errors Excepted. Pr me, ALLEN GILLESPIE."

This bill is receipted on the back, as is also the other, which charges for an additional order of "4½ gallons rum, at 5s," made two days later, indicating an unusual attendance at the funeral.

M. W. H.

BALTIMORE, MD., Jan. 31, 1884.

WASHINGTON IN EXCITEMENT—The following incident was related by Mr. Joseph Nash, of Weymouth, Mass., a private in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. He states that he was on duty as sentinel before the house in which the treason of Arnold was made known to Washington. When the commander-in-chief entered the dwelling he carried in his hand a small riding-switch, of hard wood, about the thickness of his thumb at the larger end, broken off, probably, from some tree at the roadside as he was riding by. When he came out from that distressing interview the switch was gone. So great had been his agony and excitement at the treason of one in whom he had such implicit confidence, and which so nearly concerned the fate of that cause in which he had labored so long and for which he had suffered so much, that he had unconsciously chewed in pieces the entire switch.

Mr. Nash was born in Weymouth, in 1736, and resided there until his death in 1818. He was well known to persons now living, who would not be disposed to doubt his word in a matter of this kind.

GILBERT NASH

OUR TWENTY - ONE PRESIDENTS—
 "Some years since the writer was out sailing with a party of friends, one of whom was an English lady. In the course of conversation the subject of our memory for historical events came up and the English woman repeated—slowly, to be sure, and in a methodical, school-girl manner—the names of the kings and queens of Great Britain. When it came to repeating the names of our Presidents, however, there was not one in the party that could give the complete list perfectly, and the names of our chief magistrates were only recalled by the efforts of all; yet of the gentlemen in the party there were none who had not completed their course at some literary college and were either engaged in professional studies or in business. Since that time it has been a matter of interest to learn how many there were who could name the Presidents of this government in chronological order. It may be a curiosity to the reader to try among his acquaintances for himself, and before he has finished the search it will be apparent that there is no need of speaking of Vice-presidents. It is high time that the names of our chief rulers should be given in a convenient form and with sufficient annotation to act as a mnemonic. To this task Geo. Cary Eggleston has skillfully devoted himself in the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, and his papers are written

without bias and sufficiently full for their purpose."—*Rockland County Journal*.

MISS QUINCY—Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, eldest daughter of the late Josiah Quincy, died Thursday evening, January 17, 1884. She was born 15th March, 1798, in the mansion of her grandmother, the widow of Josiah Quincy, Sr., of Revolutionary memory, which stood in Pearl street, Boston, and she passed away in the ancestral home of her family and in the apartment whence her great-grandfather, Josiah Quincy, departed in 1784, a century having spanned the period between the two events. Miss Quincy was a descendant of Edmund Quincy, the fifth of the honored name to appear in the New World. He landed at Boston, 4th September, 1633, and three years later purchased from the Indians an estate, a portion of which, at Quincy, Massachusetts, still remains in the family, and is occupied by two unmarried sisters of the deceased. In Boston and Quincy the interests of Miss Quincy's long life centered, including the episode of seventeen years' residence at Cambridge while her father was President of Harvard University. During that time and through all his public life of half a century, Miss Quincy was his private secretary and assisted him in preparing many of his numerous publications. She cannot be said to have come before the public as an author, but she contributed many important papers to historical societies, maintained a correspondence with numerous distinguished personages, such as Lord Lyndhurst, ex-Chancellor of England, and since 1870 kept a diary from which her brothers Edmund and Josiah, Jr., both deceased,

drew much material for several of their published works. In 1861 Miss Quincy edited the autobiography of her mother, *née* Morton of New York, and in 1875 she prepared an enlarged and revised edition of her father's memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr., who was born in 1744 and died in 1775, only less mourned by his country than was his friend General Joseph Warren. A copy of this attractive work is now before me, the gift of the accomplished editor. Her letters are full of interest, and from her well-stored mind and remarkable memory the writer is indebted for much valuable information concerning by-gone days and doings of the present century. Miss Quincy, it is pleasant to know, retained her vigorous intellect and unfailing memory to the last :

"Of no distemper, of no blast she died,
But fell like autumn fruit that mellow'd long;
Even wondered at, because she fell no sooner.
Fate seemed to wind her up for four-score
years;
Yet freshly ran she on six winters more,
Till, like a clock worn out with eating time,
The wheels of weary life at last stood still."

JAS. GRANT WILSON

NEW YORK, *Jan'y*, 1884

HON. GILES BRYAN SLOCUM—One of Michigan's most prominent and public-spirited citizens, whose life has been intimately identified with the history of that State, has passed away, at the age of seventy-six. He was born in Saratoga township, New York, in 1808, and first saw Michigan in 1831. In the winter of that year he assisted in laying out the town and plot of Vistula, now the wealthy and enterprising city of Toledo, Ohio.

He owned the first store in Toledo, and was engaged in getting out timber for the first dock in that city. His pioneer experiences in Michigan would fill a volume. In the spring of 1834 he paddled a canoe from Jackson down Grand River to Grand Rapids, and in the summer of the same year he established a store and dock at Truaxton, now Trenton, on the Detroit River. In subsequent years he was instrumental in driving piles and building docks at Detroit, Windsor, Springwells, Trenton, Sandwich, Gibraltar, and Grosse Isle. In 1859 he, together with Charles Mears, of Chicago, laid out the present thriving village of Whitehall, Michigan, having previously purchased large tracts of land on White River and White Lake. He took an active interest in the politics of the country; was a member of the first Republican convention, held at Jackson in 1854; was also actively interested in the construction of the Detroit, Monroe and Toledo Railroad, aiding in obtaining the right of way, which he donated through his own property; and he was a member of the first board of directors of the Chicago and Canada Southern Railway. At the time of his death he was a trustee of the Saratoga Monument Association, of which John H. Starin is president. His purse was never closed to public enterprises or private charities. He was one of those exceptional characters of whom it has been said he never did a wrong to any man. He married, in 1838, Sophia B. Truax, daughter of Major Abraham C. Truax, founder of the village of Trenton. He leaves a son and a daughter, Hon. Elliott Truax Slocum, and Mrs. J. B. Nichols.

THE BUILDING UP OF COLLEGES—Ellis H. Roberts, in his touching address at the recent funeral of ex-President Simeon North, of Hamilton College, said: "Yale College has contributed much to the building up of colleges in many States. Among its contributions to such institutions the gift of President North to Hamilton has been one of the most fruitful and beneficent. He brought hither as professor and as president the best qualities of the Yale training. He brought sincerity, accuracy, devotion to

learning for its own sake, the conviction that colleges are not for a day but for all time, that while they cling to the past they must look to the future for their harvests. He looked upon education in its higher phases not as a mere instrument to get wealth or promote ambition, but as the conservator of truth and the discipline of life. He regarded the duty of training the man more important than teaching the trade of the mechanic, or the vocation of the lawyer, the doctor, or the preacher."

QUERIES

VALENTINE ON WEAVING—There is a tradition in the family that one of the Valentines of Hempstead, on Long Island, previous to the American Revolution, was the author of a printed work on the Art of Weaving Cloth. Booksellers are not familiar with such a work. Some reader of the Magazine may be able to furnish information in regard to it.

OYSTER BAY

ROGER'S ISLAND—Nearly opposite the steamboat landing at Catskill, in the Hudson River, is an island, commonly known at the present time by the name of Roger's Island. In early records it is called "Vastrick's Island," "Vastrix Island," "Fosterick Island," "Tien-pondts Island," and a portion of it "Poplar" or "Pople Island." Can any of the readers of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY give any information respecting the derivation of these several names?

HUDSON, N. Y.

A. MUNGO

PATRICK HENRY'S SIGNATURE—In

some old documents the name of Patrick Henry—a delegate to the first Continental Congress—is given with a "Jr." added, and when his name is mentioned with the other members of that Congress, and purporting to be a *fac-simile* of their signatures, the name is signed P. Henry, "Junr." Will the Editor or some of the readers of the Magazine, please explain this, and oblige,

R. W. JUDSON

NEW YORK, Feb. 2, 1884.

COLONEL JACKSON—Moore's Diary of the Revolution, Vol. II. p. 66, in an extract from the Pennsylvania Evening Post of June 20, 1778 (referring to Sir Henry Clinton's evacuation of Philadelphia), says, "Soon after the evacuation the Honorable Major General Arnold took possession of Philadelphia, with Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts regiment." Among the members of the Court Martial which met at Morristown, Dec. 23, 1779, for the trial of General Arnold on charges preferred by the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and

directed by resolution of Congress passed April 3, of that year, was a *Colonel Jackson*. Now there were *two* Colonel Jacksons from Massachusetts in the Continental Army, viz., Colonel Henry, commander of the *sixteenth*, and Colonel Michael, commander of the *eighth* regiment of the Continental line. The former was the bosom friend of General Knox, and by him when he became first Secretary of war was appointed Naval agent at Boston. Colonel Michael had been a lieutenant in the French and Indian wars. In *Drake's Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex*, p. 349, is the following notice of this officer: "Joining his company at the Lexington alarm, in the absence of commissioned officers, he was chosen to command for the day. He immediately stepped from his place in the ranks as private, and gave the order: *Shoulder arms, platoons right wheel, quick time, forward march!* When he got to Watertown meeting-house the officers of the

regiment were holding a consultation. Finding they were likely to consume valuable time in speeches, he led all that would follow him where they could strike the British, etc."—

Frothingham's *Siege of Boston* states that he was Major of Gardner's regiment from Middlesex which composed part of the defending force at Bunker Hill, where Jackson in a personal encounter with a British officer killed his antagonist (a former companion in arms), being himself wounded by a ball through his side,—was again wounded in 1776. His regiment (in which were five of his sons) was among the last four discharged from the service. Died in 1801. Among his pall bearers were Generals Brooks and Knox and Col. Ward.

QUERY—Which Col. Jackson served on the Court Martial the finding of which led to Arnold's memorable reprimand by the Commander in Chief?

O. W. SHAW

AUSTIN, MINN., Nov. 29, 1883

REPLIES

COL. DAVID CROCKETT (xi. p. 177)—Captain Reuben M. Potter, in his criticism of my sketch of Col. David Crockett in the December number of the Magazine, takes issue with me on the statement that the garrison of the Alamo surrendered. I was fully aware at the time of writing the sketch that this had been a mooted question, but from the research that I gave the subject, I was satisfied that the weight of authority favored the affirmative view. Capt. Potter may be assured that no part of that article was written on the evidence of extravagant story tellers, by whom he

thinks the author may have been misled. The writer was born and passed the greater part of his life in the district of Tennessee which Col. Crockett represented in Congress, has known him, and heard him make stump speeches, and is familiar with many of his comrades, and his descendants now living. In the preparation of the article, all known authorities were consulted. It is true that in the work called "Texas and Texans," written and published in 1841, by Hon. Henry S. Foote, the author relies upon a newspaper article to contradict the theory of the surrender. Edwards, also,

in his *History of Texas*, evidently copying from Foote, asserts that there was no surrender.

Other authorities, and the tradition sustained by the survivors, go to prove to the contrary. The weight of authorities show, I think, that when the combined attack on the fort was made by the Mexicans on the morning of the 6th of March with 4,000 men—infantry and artillery—in which they were twice repulsed with heavy loss, that they at last succeeded in entering the fort, and after some desperate hand-to-hand fighting with the clubs of guns and bowie-knives, but six of the garrison remained alive. Being surrounded on all sides by overpowering numbers, and unable to load their guns, that they surrendered to General Castrillon under a solemn promise that they would be treated as prisoners of war. Santa Anna, however, ordered them put to death. This was evidently what the victorious army at San Jacinto believed of the affair of the Alamo, for their war cry in that memorable battle was, "Remember the Alamo!"

Captain Potter's comments on the statement "that there were around Crockett a complete barrier of about twenty Mexicans lying pell-mell, dead and dying," is to say the least of it, disingenuous. The claim is not made that Crockett slew or wounded all of these men, or that it was done in a "minute." On the entrance of the Mexicans into the fort, the six survivors fought with their knives and the butts of their guns in a body, and it is not only not unlikely

that they wounded and killed about twenty of the enemy, but it is probable that the number was far greater than stated. There is no evidence in any authentic account of this memorable engagement that there was any "group of skulkers" in the garrison, as stated by Captain Potter. It is told, but on somewhat doubtful authority, that one of the garrison, named Warner, asked for quarter, which was denied him.

There were, according to the best authorities, four persons who escaped: Mrs. Dickinson, wife of Lieutenant Dickinson, who fell fighting in the fort, her child and two negro servants—one the servant of Col. Travis and the other of Col. Bowre. It has been stated also that two Mexican women of Bexar escaped from the fort on the morning of the 6th of March. One of the known survivors, Mrs. Hanning, is now living in Austin, Texas. She was at the time of the siege of the Alamo about eighteen years old. During the siege she received a wound from a bullet which pierced one of her legs.

MARCUS J. WRIGHT

WASHINGTON, *Feb. 5, 1884*

QUISQUISING [x. 519]—Is more commonly written Goschgoschünk. It was a town settled by Monseys from Machiwihilusing and Tioga in 1765. The Rev. David Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary, came here in 1767, but Washington never saw the place.

* † *

ALLEGHENY, PA., *Dec. 5, 1883*

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the regular monthly meeting of the society, February 5, the recording secretary announced the death, since the last meeting, of the following members: George W. Thompson, John William Wallace, Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, Rev. Edward Fontaine, Charles H. Russell, George De Hart Gillespie, Charles Burkhalter, and Oliver H. Palmer. The librarian reported numerous additions to the library, including valuable files of the *New York Gazette*, or, *The Weekly Post Boy*, 1768-1771, and of *The New York Daily Gazette* for the year 1791, presented by Edward S. Wilde, Esq., of Glen Ridge, N. J. The librarian also reported an interesting accession to the gallery of historic portraits, the gift of Miss Eugenia C. Pratt, of this city, consisting of the portraits in oil of Richard Hildreth, the historian, and of Nicholas P. Trist, United States Commissioner during the war with Mexico, painted from life by the late Robert M. Pratt, the father of the donor.

The paper of the evening, on "The Huguenots in Boston," was read by Rev. Dr. Charles W. Baird, author of the *History of Rye, N. Y.*, whose extended researches respecting the Huguenots in America, have constituted him an authority on the subject. The paper contained much new and interesting matter respecting the French exiles who settled in Boston, and was a most valuable contribution to American history.

The librarian submitted for the records a memorial notice of the late Charles H. Russell, for over 48 years a resident member of the society, and at various pe-

riods a member of its executive, building and nominating committees. Attention was called by the recording secretary to the desirability of recovering and publishing the missing papers of the Union Defence Committee, which performed such patriotic and efficient service during the late civil war. The following gentlemen were elected resident members of the society: John M. Mossman, William M. Chase, William St. J. Harper, John T. Lockman, Frank S. Belton, Charles Howland Russell, Robert Ray Hamilton, W. W. Pasko, and Abram S. Post.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY—The regular monthly meeting of this society was held February 6, at the society's house, 18 Somerset street, the president, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Ph. D., in the chair. A paper of exceptional interest was read by Hon. Charles Adams, Jr., on "The Method pursued by the Town of North Brookfield to replace its lost Records and to obtain Material for its History." He said: "The old town of Brookfield was not only one of the earliest settlements in this part of the State, but for many years one of the most important towns in wealth and population in the county of Worcester, which indeed it antedated by some twelve years, being originally a part of old Hampshire County, and although abounding from the beginning in historical incident, and later with a large amount of material 'lying round loose' in the form of town, parish and church records, historical sermons and addresses, yet no comprehensive, consec-

utive history had ever been written of the old town, or of either of the three towns into which it had been divided." To illustrate the importance of working the historic mines which abound in many of the New England hill-towns, he presented some curious local information concerning Brookfield, as for instance: "One cellar hole marks the residence, in her childhood and poverty, of the celebrated Mme. Jumel, afterwards the millionaire, and once the wife of Aaron Burr, a Vice-President of the United States. Another old house, nearly ruinous, is where Daniel Shays, the notorious leader of the 'Shays' rebellion,' once lived, and where he was married. Another cellar hole marks the birthplace of David Hinckley, who, by successive steps, became a prominent merchant of Boston and England; who built, in 1812, the large double granite house at the corner of Somerset and Beacon streets, for his own and his married daughter's residence, now the Congregational House. Another, the residence of Rufus Putnam, a celebrated general of the Revolution, highly spoken of by General Washington in his communications to the Government," etc., etc. At the close of his address remarks were made by the president, Rev. Drs. Tarbox, Cornell and Paige, Rev. H. A. Hazen, Col. Hoyt and William C. Todd, and thanks voted to Mr. Adams for his paper. Rev. Increase M. Tarbox, D.D., the historiographer, reported memorial sketches of two deceased members, Hon. Gerry Whitney Cochrane, who died in Chester, N. H., Jan. 1, 1884, in his seventy-sixth year, and Edward Sprague Rand, who was lost on the steamer City of Columbus off Gay Head on the morning of the 18th ult., in his seventy-fifth year.

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY—The quarterly meeting of this society was held at Wilkesbarre, Pa., Dec. 12, President Charles Ingham, M.D., in the chair. A long list of donations was acknowledged. In the absence of Hon. Steuben Jenkins, a very interesting paper prepared by him on "The Old Pittston Fort" was read by Harrison Wright, Ph.D., secretary. This fort was built in 1771. Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden read the preface of a work which he has nearly completed, entitled, "A Bibliography of the Wyoming Valley," and presented the manuscript to the society.

KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The officers of this society are F. P. Baker, President; D. R. Anthony and A. P. Riddle, Vice-Presidents; John Francis, Treasurer; F. G. Adams, Secretary. Its Board of Directors consists of forty-seven prominent gentlemen. Its library is the property of the State of Kansas, and is being made up in the State capitol for the use of the people. It contains 4,760 bound volumes, 2,928 bound newspaper files, 8,332 unbound volumes and pamphlets—total, 16,020 volumes. These are in much the larger part either of Kansas publications or those relating to the Western country, or are public documents and scientific publications of the government; and all contain historical, documentary, and scientific information of permanent value.

In the department of newspaper files the collection has grown more rapidly than that of any other library in the country.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A goodly number of ladies and gentle-

men encountered ice and slush on the evening of February 5, for the privilege of listening to a critical and scholarly paper from the distinguished professor of the Latin language in Brown University, on the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Thoroughly informed in regard to his subject and the philosophy that was the basis of the remarkable character portrayed, Professor Lincoln spoke *ex cathedra*. Aurelius was born in Rome, in the year A. D. 121, under the reign of Hadrian, who was drawn by the cords of affection towards the boy at the age of six years, and took measures to secure his elevation to the throne next after Antoninus Pius, whose propitious rule lasted from the year 138 to 161. Aurelius proved to be more man and philosopher than Emperor. His remarkable simplicity, honesty, gentleness, forbearance and fortitude were portrayed to the life. His trials were great. His ablest general arose in rebellion. His wife acted a worse part than Xantippe. His subjects gave him great trouble. Still he maintained peace of mind, abiding in the faith that prevailed in the early days of the world. Though Solomon had a clearer idea of the living God than Aurelius, he sinks out of sight when a comparison is instituted. Aurelius appears one of the finest specimens of manhood that heathendom has handed down. He was well-nigh Christian. And yet, good, just and generous as he was, he allowed persecutions even more bitter and cruel than prevailed under some vile rulers. Professor Lincoln's fine scholarship and nice discrimination were fully appreciated by his auditors.

On motion of Mr. Thomas Vernon, who paid a marked compliment to his

honored teacher, seconded by the Rev. Dr. J. G. Vose, who drew a nice distinction between heathen wisdom and Christian character, Professor Lincoln received a unanimous vote of thanks, and, after fitting remarks by President Gammell, the meeting was adjourned.

THE WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting of this society was held on Wednesday evening, February 6, and the following officers were elected: President, Elias Richards; Vice-President, John J. Loud; Recording Secretary, Gilbert Nash; Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Anson Titus; Treasurer, Geo. S. Baker; Librarian, Miss Carrie A. Blanchard. This is the fifth year of the society's existence, and its principal object is the collection rather than the publication of local historical material, and the showing in that direction is very satisfactory.

The report of the Recording Secretary gives, with some detail, the work of the society during the past year; the most important of which is the action of the town in appropriating one thousand dollars for the purpose of collecting materials for its history, by request of the society. Attention is also called to the History of Norfolk County, Mass., now in process of publication, which will contain a sketch of Weymouth, prepared by a member of the society. This, although from the necessity of the case very brief, will be the most extended work upon the town thus far attempted, and may serve as the basis of a complete history.

Weymouth is the most ancient town in the Commonwealth excepting Plymouth, and its history is greatly to be

desired, as it will fill a vacant place in local history that has long been the regret of historical and genealogical students.

THE WEBSTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting of this society was held in the Old South Meeting House, Boston, on January 18, the one hundred and second anniversary of Daniel Webster's birth. A scholarly address upon John Adams was delivered by Judge Chamberlain, of Boston, who took the somewhat interesting and highly novel view that the primary cause of the American Revolution was a religious one. That the efforts of the Established Church to foist a lord bishop upon the colonies precipitated the quarrel. At the conclusion of the address reports were read, and the following officers were elected for the ensuing year : President, Hon. Joshua L. Chamberlain, of Maine ; Vice-Presidents, Hon. George C. Richardson, Massachusetts, Hon. William M. Evarts, New York, Hon. John Wentworth, Illinois, Hon. Henry B. Anthony, Rhode Island, Hon. Hon. George F. Edmunds, Vermont ; Historiographers, Rev. William C. Winslow, Hon. Edward F. Tobey, Hon. John S. Ladd ; Treasurer, Thomas H. Cummings, Esq. ; Recording Clerk, Nathaniel W. Ladd, Esq. ; Corresponding Secretary, Thomas H. Cummings. Governor Bell, of New Hampshire, the retiring President, welcomed the newly-elected President in a few courteous remarks, and ex-Governor Chamberlain, of Maine, on taking the chair, spoke earnestly of the future work proposed by the society. The meeting then adjourned.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At a meeting of this society held on the evening of Feb. 11, in the Library Building at Utica, Ellis H. Roberts, First Vice-President, presiding, an interesting paper was read by Professor G. C. Sawyer on "Ancient Utica." The officers of the society for the present year are: ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, President ; Ellis H. Roberts, Rev. Isaac S. Hartley, D.D., Daniel E. Wager, Vice-Presidents ; Dr. M. M. Bagg, Recording Secretary ; Gen. C. W. Darling, Corresponding Secretary ; M. M. Jones, Librarian ; R. S. Williams, Treasurer.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY celebrated its forty-fifth anniversary on the evening of Feb. 12, in Hodgson Hall, Savannah, Gen. G. M. Sorrel, First Vice-President, presiding. After the various reports for the year had been read, officers were elected as follows : Gen. Henry R. Jackson, President ; Gen. G. M. Sorrel, Gen. A. R. Lawton, Vice-Presidents ; William Hampton Wade, Recording Secretary ; Hon. Robert Falligant, Corresponding Secretary ; Prof. W. S. Bogart, Treasurer ; William Harden, Librarian. The seven Curators were re-elected. The anniversary address was delivered by Hon. P. W. Meldrim, whose subject was "The Trial of Charles I., Its Causes and Consequences." He gave a graphic account of the early history of the accomplished King, whose execution was a triumph for the people. To the influence of that event the speaker attributed the growth of the spirit of liberty subsequently in America under George III., and in Poland, Hungary, Sweden and France.

BOOK NOTICES

CUBA PRIMITIVA. ORIGEN, LENGUAS, TRADICIONES E HISTORIA DE LOS INDIOS DE LAS ANTILLAS MAYORA Y LAS LUCAYAS. Por DON ANTONIO BACHILLER Y MORALES. Segunda edicion, corregida y aumentada. 8vo., pp. 300. Habana, 1883.

Señor Bachiller y Morales, well known as an earnest student of American history, especially of all relating to Cuba, presented this handsome volume as his contribution to the fourth meeting of the International Congress of Americanists, held at Madrid in 1881. It was inspired by the desire to give that body, in a comprehensive form, all that could be gathered as to the language, traditions and antiquities of the Indians who were found occupying the greater Antilles and the Bahama islands. Most unfortunately, no vocabulary has been preserved of this race, which has now disappeared. Though the Spaniards, after a time, studied with great zeal the various Indian languages, and have left countless works, the first American vocabulary now known is that collected by the French navigator Jacques Cartier, on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

After a summary of the old discussion as to the origin of the American Indians, the author shows that the language of the Antilles had no connection with the Maya, and that no known tribe in Florida spoke any dialect of the Lucayan; while the Caribs of the West Indies had congeners in South America, and affinities are claimed between the Lucayan and Arawak. Other scholars in Cuba and Santo Domingo are endeavoring to collect aboriginal terms and solve the problem. The eccentric Rafinesque led the way in collecting from the earliest Spanish authors all Indian words. He devotes a chapter to the collections of antiquities of the Antilles, still too limited for any extended study. This is followed by the curious account of the traditions and religious ideas of the Haytians which the Rev. Father Roman Pane prepared for Christopher Columbus. Señor Bachiller's notes add much new light.

A most important part of this work is a vocabulary of 170 pages, embracing names of persons, places and things in the language of the Cuban Indians (Tainos). In this he has rendered a service of the greatest value for a study of the language. A second vocabulary gives the words now in use among the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of Cuba, with their meaning. Señor Bachiller's work cannot fail to stimulate others in Cuba to pursue the interesting studies for which Cuba affords so tempting a field; and with the soundly critical Captain Duro of the Academy of History we can compliment the author on his work.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OCTOGENARIAN. By HENRY HILL. 16mo, pp. 195. D. Lothrop & Co. Boston, 1884.

The author of this interesting little work was born in Newburgh, New York, January 10, 1795, his family removing to Catskill when he was about one year of age. Among his school-day companions were Edwin Crosswell and Thurlow Weed. Having traveled extensively in the course of his eventful career, he describes London, Liverpool, and Paris, in 1815-1816, and leads the reader on a rambling tour through Belgium and Holland. The French King, Louis the Eighteenth, went every forenoon to mass in the chapel in the palace of the Tuileries, returning through the glass gallery; and to the services in this chapel Mr. Hill was several times admitted. The following year he made a voyage to the West Indies, visited Buenos Ayres, Santiago, and other South American points, and gives pleasant information concerning the illustrious men of South America at that period. In 1821 he returned home, and in 1822 was made Treasurer of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In the last chapter of the volume the venerable author states that he has (Jan. 10, 1884) just completed his eighty-ninth year.

FALLACIES. A VIEW OF LOGIC FROM THE PRACTICAL SIDE. (The International Scientific Series.) By ALFRED SIDGWICK. 12mo, pp. 375. D. Appleton & Co. New York, 1884.

We have here the latest volume of this valuable series, intended, like its predecessors, for the general reader. The author informs us in his preface that no previous technical training is requisite for the understanding of the work, as it is written as much as possible from the unprofessional point of view. In his introductory chapter we are told that Logic holds what may well be called an uncomfortable position among the sciences. Some authorities deny that a body of accepted logical doctrines exist; while others consider that the facts and laws that form such doctrine are so perfectly undeniable that to state them is hardly to convey new or important information. After pointing out the difficulties that arise in the treatment of the subject, the author discourses upon the Practical Side of Logic, which may be viewed as a machine for combating Fallacy, and, like all machines, be ever capable of improvement. He then gives an outline of his work, and a preliminary survey of the nature of Proof in general. Speaking of "Inference," he calls it a highly ambiguous word, capable of being applied to Proof as well as to

Discovery. And he shows in clear, forcible language how misleading it is to attempt to find the modern meaning of a word by tracing its history. "If the historical inquiry be properly guarded, it may serve to throw light on the modern meaning, which would otherwise be lost or overlooked;" and yet, in many cases, to attempt to bind words down to their ancient meaning would lead to serious error. Among the most interesting chapters in the book are those entitled "The Employment of Guess-Work," which we especially commend to the notice of every enlightened reader.

ENGLISH COMIC DRAMATISTS. Edited by OSWALD CRAWFORD. (The Parchment Library.) pp. 283. D. Appleton & Co. New York, 1884.

This charming collection of scenes from the English Comic Dramatists has not been made in any hap-hazard manner, simply to amuse and entertain the reader of them, but to give in a succinct form something which shall thoroughly represent English Comedy Literature. Each scene is preceded by a sketch of the plot sufficient to make it intelligible; and a short critical note upon each of the dramatists represented will be found in the body of the work, of which there are fourteen—from Shakspeare to Sheridan. Mr. Crawford's excellent introduction of fifteen pages prepares the reader for a thorough appreciation of the scenes which follow.

AMERICAN COLLEGES: THEIR STUDENTS AND WORK. By CHARLES F. THWING. 1 vol. 12mo, pp. 213. (Second edition, revised and enlarged.) G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York, 1883.

"The facilities for learning foreign languages in our colleges have vastly improved within a few years," writes the author of this volume. "Twenty years ago it was difficult to find a graduate who could read French with ease, or German at all. But now no one pretends to call himself thoroughly educated unless he reads, writes, and speaks these languages with fluency. It is only within a few years that our colleges have given any instruction in the fine arts. Ten years ago a professorship of the history of art was established at Harvard, and the department is now, by means of the seven elective courses, one of the most important and popular. Six elective courses in music are also provided, with fifteen recitations and lectures a week. Yale has a school of fine arts, whose aim is to provide thorough technical instruction in the arts of painting, sculpture and architecture; to furnish an acquaintance with all branches of learning relating to the history, theory and practice of art." The course covers three years, and, though it is dis-

tinct from the regular college course, it is open to all who wish to avail themselves of its advantages.

The book is well written, and to all who are interested in the history of college education in America is most agreeable and instructive reading. It treats of Instruction in Colleges, of Expenses, Morals, Religion, Health, Journalism, Fellowships, Choice of a College, Rank in College, a Test of Future Distinction, Wealth and Endowment; A National University; and Woman's Education. The three last-named subjects comprise the chief additional material prepared for this enlarged and revised edition.

THE VOYAGE OF THE JEANNETTE, THE SHIP AND ICE JOURNALS of George W. De Long, Lieutenant-Commander U. S. N. and Commander of the Polar Expedition of 1879-1881. Edited by his wife, EMMA DE LONG. With two steel portraits, maps and many illustrations on wood and stone. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 911. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston, 1883.

The thrilling narrative of the voyage of the *Jeannette* is recited at length in these two beautiful volumes, edited by the wife of the lamented commander of the expedition, and full-page and other illustrations of great interest hold the reader spell-bound, while maps of singular interest enable one to trace the entire route of the ship from San Francisco to the spot where it disappeared beneath the waves—together with the route followed by the officers and crew on their perilous march over the ice to the Siberian coast. A circumpolar map also shows the highest point reached by different navigators at different dates; and the Lena Delta indicates, in a nearer view, the routes taken after landing, and by the search parties. The story of the voyage is told in the words of Commander De Long, who, in addition to the ship's log, kept a private journal which was to have been his record of the expedition. This last was continued after the ship was abandoned.

The *Jeannette* sailed from San Francisco on the 8th of July, 1879, and before the end of October was fast in the ice, off Herald Island. On the 30th of November De Long wrote: "We do not see the sun at all, and our noon is but the twilight of ordinary latitudes. Venus was visible at noon. The ice around us made a picture in its lights and shadows. The broken pack surrounds us in all directions, while, as if in the center of a frozen lake, the *Jeannette* is squeezed by slabs of ice eight and one-half inches thick, with humped-up and splintered floes, showing where she has proved her strength. Attempts to be poetical in the Arctic are praiseworthy, but I think I shall give them up. My sensations of

being in critical situations are too keen to allow me to write in cold blood about the beauties of ice scenery. I will simply remark, the pack is no place for a ship, and however beautiful it may be from an aesthetic point of view, I wish with all my heart that we were out of it. I take leave of the month of November without the slightest regret: It has been a month of gales, ice pressures, and discomforts mental and physical."

Then followed a long, tedious winter of night and a frozen summer. Over nine months had they been held fast and drifted here and there at the will of the winds. On the 21st of June (1880) De Long wrote: "All our books are read, our stories related; our games of chess, cards, and checkers long since discontinued. When we assemble in the morning at breakfast, we make daily a fresh start. Any dreams, amusing or peculiar, are related and laughed over. There can be no greater wear and tear on a man's mind and patience than this life in the pack. The absolute monotony; the unchanging round of hours; the awakening to the same things and the same conditions that one saw just before losing one's self in sleep; the same faces; the same dogs; the same ice; the same conviction that to-morrow will be exactly the same as to-day, if not more disagreeable; the absolute impotence to do anything, to go anywhere, or to change one's situation an iota."

Twelve weary, monotonous months rolled round after this ere the ship was finally crushed, and the brave men turned out upon the ice, with such provisions as could be carried from place to place, and commenced their tramp, tramp, tramp over the frozen ocean to its melancholy sequel. The work from beginning to end is one of singular fascination, and the admirable manner in which it has been edited and published will command for it wide circulation.

LANGUAGE AND CONQUEST—A Retrospect and a Forecast. By JOHN READE. [From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. I, sec. II.] Quarto pamphlet, pp. 33. Montreal, 1883. Dawson Brothers.

The thought embodied in this scholarly essay is worthy of careful attention. The inquiry as to what has been the share of the races of scattered and isolated tongues on the general forward movement of humanity may not be speedily answered with any degree of accuracy. But new light is breaking. "Only a century ago," says Mr. Reade, "no one dreamed that the Hindoo was the kinsman of the Anglo-Saxon, the Celt, and the Slav, and who can tell what discoveries of equal import may be in store for the diligent student of languages?" The es-

sayist further tells us that English is now the mother-tongue of 95,000,000 of people, and that its use is daily spreading in all quarters of the globe. A forecast based on the populations and known rates of increase of those who speak the following languages results in the compilation—"At the end of 200 years, Italian will be spoken by 53,370,000; French, by 72,571,000; German, by 157,480,000; Spanish, by 505,256,242; and English, by 1,837,286,153."

EARLY, NEW ENGLAND PEOPLE—Some account of the ELLIS, PEMBERTON, WILLARD, PRESCOTT, TITCOMB, SEWALL, LONGFELLOW, and allied families. By SARAH ELIZABETH TITCOMB. 8vo, pp. 288. Boston: W. B. Clarke & Carruth. 1882.

This volume is admirably written, a treasury of genealogical lore indeed. Instead of following the usual methods of the writers of family history, Miss Titcomb has illuminated her pages with anecdotes and personal incidents, and has given life, animation and interest to the illustrious Puritans of early New England. We make the acquaintance in these pages of the ancestors of Harriet Prescott Spofford, and the discovery as well of the mine from which she has drawn many a remarkable plot with which to delight the reading public; also of the ancestors of Benjamin Perley Poore, the author and journalist, who were of the same family as Bishop Roger Poor, under whose decree Queen Victoria now occupies the British throne; of those of Henry W. Longfellow, and of many other eminent personages. Of one of the Titcombs (Pierson) we have a pleasant pen portrait from his niece. "My uncle Titcomb was an *exceedingly handsome* man—one whom people would turn and look at; dark hair, black eyes, a smooth, fair skin, with rich, brilliant color, a full, handsome mouth, and fine teeth, regular and not too large features, an Adonis face, with a good figure, above the average height and well-proportioned. He had the manners of a finished gentleman, and was a very popular man in society,—and society was very popular with him. I have heard my mother and others say, that the flatteries and attentions that he received from both old and young, were enough to turn the head of a young man with less principle. He wrote for the local papers, at times. In politics he was a Federalist. I think, but for this, he would have been prominent as a politician, he was so very popular a man; but office would not tempt him to deny his principles, and Democrats ruled in that day."

ANNOUNCEMENT.—Gen. George W. Culum, U. S. A. will contribute the leading article (illustrated) to the April number of the Magazine.



Rich^d Montgomery

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MAJOR-GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY

ON the last day of the year preceding that of our Declaration of Independence there fell one of the noblest martyrs to liberty—
MAJOR-GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY—whose death was mourned by friends and foes, and whose memory, after the lapse of a century, still lives in the grateful hearts of the millions of freemen of this giant Republic, whose foundation was sprinkled with his blood.

Richard Montgomery, the third son of an Irish baronet, was born December 2, 1738, at Convoy House, his father's country seat, near Raphoe, in the north of Ireland. The genealogy of the Montgomery family, originally from Neustria, goes beyond A.D. 912, when Rollo was made first Duke of Normandy; and later to that Comte de Montgomerie, who mortally wounded Henry II. of France, July 10, 1550, in a tournament in honor of the marriage of his daughter. Though, on his death-bed, the king forgave the Count, the queen-mother Catherine de Medicis did not, but pursued the brave Huguenot with implacable vengeance till she brought him to the scaffold, May 27, 1576.

After receiving a liberal education at Dublin College, Montgomery, in his eighteenth year, September 21, 1756, entered the British Army, as an Ensign of the Seventeenth Infantry, being soon after called to the field. Fortunately for America his career opened here, and not in the Seven Years' War of Prussia. In 1757 his regiment was ordered to Halifax, and the next year took part, under the immediate command of General Wolfe, in the capture of Louisburg, the American Gibraltar, guarding the entrance to the St. Lawrence from the Atlantic. During the investment and siege of this great fortress—one of the most noted monuments of French power on this continent—young Montgomery showed such heroism and military capacity that he was promoted to be a Lieutenant, July 10, 1758.

The news of Montcalm's bloody repulse of the British attack upon